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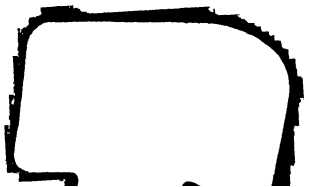

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THE LAST PRAYER
CHRISTIAN MARTYRS IN THE COLISEUM

Here is depicted one of the most gruesome and horrible spectacles known to human history. In the barricaded arena of the great Coliseum is the doomed band of Christians grouped around the aged patriarch who, oblivious to approaching danger and the cruel jeers of the bloody-minded spectators, calmly commits himself and companions to the care of the Eternal Father. Overhanging the weeping group are the bodies of companions nailed to crosses, or encased in oiled bandages and set up as living torches. From the dens below come the ravenous lions lured by the smell of blood and burning flesh, and rendered so desperate by starvation as to be oblivious to the startling and unwonted spectacle before them, and conscious only of the nearness of their helpless prey. And all about, in tier upon tier, are the 87,000 spectators, rejoicing in this inconceivably cruel spectacle. Yet this vast concourse of people was typical of the highest civilization known at that day. In such a scene may be read the inevitable doom of the great empire that then ruled the world.

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BOOK VII.—PARTHIA

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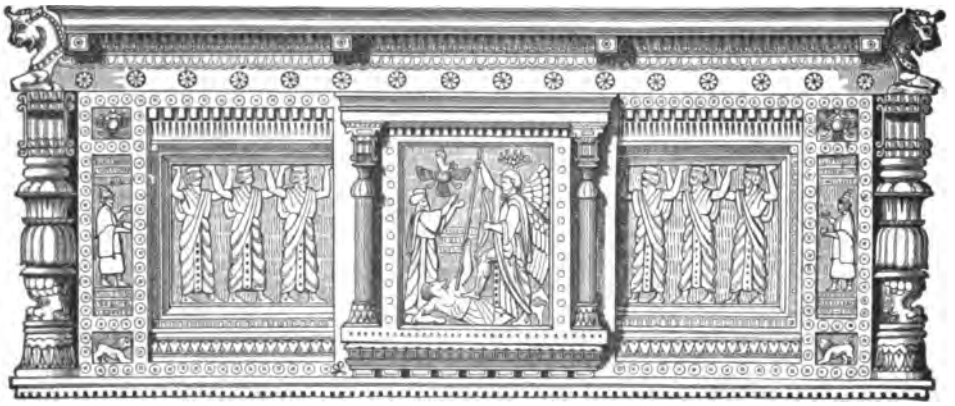


Book Seventh.

PARTHIA.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE COUNTRY.

BY the events recorded in the preceding Book the reader has been made fully aware, not only of the existence, but of the prowess and enterprise of the Hellenic race out of the West. The conflict which he has been considering, terminating in utter disaster to the Persian Empire at Arbela, was a crisis in the affairs of two great peoples having the same ethnic derivation. The Macedonians were one of the European developments of that same family whose fecundity on the plateau of Iran gave us the Persians. Having seen the result of the struggle between the two races, we might here at once transfer our station to the West, to follow the evolution of the Hellenic tribes into nationality, from nationality to conquest, and from conquest to decadence.

Thus far in the present volume we have pursued this suggestive method, tracing the course of one people until its conflict with another people has led us naturally to consider the history of the latter. Thus the conquest of Egypt by the Persians carried the reader's attention, first of all, from the valley of the Nile to the valley of the Euphrates. The conquest of ancient Chaldæa by the Assyrians next drew his interest from the south to the north, from Babylon to Nineveh. Then came the conquest of Assyria by the Medes, which carried the inquirer beyond the Zagros, and made him acquainted, for the first time, with the warlike representatives of the Aryan race. His attention was next recalled by the revival of the Babylonian Power until what time Persia forced her way across Mesopotamia, and subdued the larger part of Western Asia. The history of this Persian Empire we have just considered, and the suggestion of its close would carry us naturally in the wake of the conquerors to Macedonia and the Grecian Islands. This direction we shall indeed presently follow; but before the final transfer of our historical position from Asia to Europe—before descending from this Iranian plateau to view the astonishing development of the ancient Hellenic tribes in their archipelago and on the main-land of Greece—it remains to consider the peculiar history of an Empire which sprang up, and at length occupied the place of Persia on the highlands of Western Asia.

This Empire is PARTHIA. Its consideration in this connection is difficult. The Parthian

Power did not reach its climax until after the successors of Alexander the Great had quarreled and fought themselves into silence. The Empire then extended throughout the period which covered the entire decline and extinction of the Grecian commonwealths, and lay alongside in time with the development of the later Republic and Empire of Rome. Of the dominions of the latter, Parthia was destined to constitute the *thus-far* on the East. Against the Parthian arrows in the far East not even the Roman legions could prevail. The strong men, the wild warriors of Central Asia, held the legionaries at bay, or buried them by multiplied thousands in the desert. In *time*, therefore, the consideration of Parthia before the history of Greece and Rome is a derangement of historical relations; but in *place* the narrative must be given here. The reader will therefore retain his point of observation on the Great Plateau, and note the development of the Parthian Empire down to the beginning of the second century of our Era, before transferring his station to Macedonia and the Hellenic peninsula.

The relations of the Parthian Empire with Persia were remarkable, but not without precedent. We have seen Babylonia revived from the grave of ancient Chaldæa. We have seen the Persians themselves flourishing in the land of the Medes. We shall hereafter see many examples of the upspringing of a new national growth from the roots of the fallen tree of some old nationality. In the present instance Parthia may be said to have come forth from the ruins of Persia. The Parthians had long existed as a distinct people, subject to Persian authority. It was reserved for them, by their greater vitality, to survive the wreck of the other Iranian nations, to expand over the ruins of the Alexandrian conquests, to establish a true Empire, and to defend it through several revolutionary epochs, until the drama of Ancient History was closed, and that of Modern History begun. It might almost be said that the Parthian Power has never ceased until the present time, and that the Persian Shah is the living representative of Arsaces I.

At the beginning, then, it will be proper for us to consider briefly the *Country* of ancient Parthia and the territories subsequently included in the Empire. This will be followed by a view of the people and their civilization; after which the narrative of their civil and military career will be given to the beginning of the third century of our era. The distinction must be borne in mind between the Province of Parthia proper and the Imperial country ruled by the great kings during the last century of the ancient epoch. Parthia Proper may be said to have corresponded with tolerable exactitude to the modern province of Khorassan. The position and extent of the country can be noted by the reader by a simple reference to a map of the Persian Empire of the present time. The country now includes the districts of Damaghan, Sharud, Sebzawar, Nishapur, Meshed, Shebri-No, and Tershiz. The length from east to west is about three hundred miles, and the extreme width a hundred and twenty miles. The area is thirty-three thousand square miles, being a little greater than that of Ireland in Europe, or the State of Indiana in America.

The position of Parthia may be defined in general geographical terms as lying about midway between the south-eastern borders of the Caspian and the northern shore of the Arabian sea. The country had on its western side the province of Hyrcania, but the latter was generally included under the common name of Parthia. To the east and north lay Margiana, and to the south and west Sagartia and Sarangia. On the south-east the country was bounded by ancient Arya—a name significant to all the Indo-European peoples. The reader will already have noted that Parthia as here defined is not far removed from the primitive seats of those tribes out of whose fecund loins all the great races of Europe and America have been ultimately derived.

Of the general character of Parthia Proper, and of the surrounding regions, sufficient has already been said in the description of the same countries in connection with Media and Persia. The mountain region extending eastward in a chain from the southern extremity of the Caspian, branches out into many ranges in the Parthian territory; and from these

brooks and rivers descend into the plains, furnishing a fair supply of water. The soil is tolerably fertile, and the climate marked with those particular vicissitudes under which the energies of the human race are best developed. It is probable that the flora and fauna of modern Khorassan fairly represent the vegetable and animal life of the ancient country.

It is sufficient to note the great contrast between the region which we are considering and the deserts north and south. The man of antiquity may have well regarded Parthia with delight on his escape from the sandy waste on either hand. The primitive tribes, roaming at will through groves of pine, through sloping lands covered with walnut, ash, and poplar, by river banks lined with the willow and mulberry, may have well chosen this country in preference to any that they had found, and pledged their lives and barbarian resources to its defense. Nor could the winters, extending from October to April, severe in snow and freezing, prevail to destroy the preference of the first Parthians for the country of their choice.

The situation was favorable for the development of an ancient State, and the character of the people conduced strongly to that end. We have seen how primeval man at the first chose the alluvial valleys and lowlands about the estuaries of great rivers; but the second choice of position was those upland regions whose beauty of situation and abundant resources invited the first tribes to rest and settlement. In this respect Parthia may be regarded as most attractive. In addition to the general fruitfulness of the country—its production of the native cereals and berry fruits of the forest and river banks—the region might well be selected for the desert defenses on either side. Nature has provided for the races of men many natural bulwarks, but none superior to a waste of desert sand. It is, therefore, likely that for long ages before the first authentic annals, the country here described was peopled by adventurous and warlike tribes. That they did not multiply and develop at an early epoch into a great State must be attributed to the fact that agriculture was not suggested with sufficient emphasis to provoke the energies of the race. A mixed life contained the summary, and for a long time limited the activities, of the primitive Parthians. But the mixed life signifies a sparse and somewhat fluctuating population, and this is unfavorable to the early development of social and political power.

We have thus far considered only the original province of Parthia Proper, and not the character of the countries which were brought under the Parthian sway in the times of the Empire. We are not here concerned to note the political and historical development, but only the territorial extension of the primitive kingdom. Suffice it to say, that hard after the decline of the Persian power came the rise of Parthia and the expansion of her dominions north, south, east, and west. The reader will not have failed to detect the name of Parthia in several paragraphs of Persian history. The country was included for a long time within the dominions of the Achæmenian kings, and constituted no mean part of the Empire of Cyrus and his successors. There were times, as we shall hereafter see, when the native force of the Parthian race asserted itself against the Persian rule, and more than one rebellion gave token of what might be expected as soon as the Persian Power should suffer from foreign violence or fail from inherent weakness.

That event at length arrived, when near the close of the fourth century B. C. the Son of Philip, as we have seen in the preceding Book, ground under his heel not only the Mesopotamian countries, but all the dominions of the Great Plateau and beyond to the river Indus. It thus happened that Parthia had, first, her historical relations with the Persian Empire; afterwards, with the Empire of Alexander and its divisions; and lastly, with the military governments established by the Romans out of the far West.

But we are here to note merely the extension of territory which came to the Parthians by war and conquest. This territorial expansion first included the adjacent countries of Chorasmia, Margiana, Arya, Sarangia, Sagartia, and Hyrcania. The provinces and kingdoms known by these names were, as we shall hereafter see, overrun and subdued by the armies

of the Parthian kings, and were added, one by one, to their dominions. The process of physical growth was coïncident with the reverse process of decay on the part of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, in the countries of Central Asia.

The province of Chorasmia bounded Parthia Proper on the north, and consisted of a low-lying plain between the Parthian mountains and the ancient river Oxus. As we have indicated above, this was for the greater part a desert region, capable of supporting only the wild tribes of Tura with their flocks. It is believed that to the present day the nomadic habit of life has prevailed with all the succeeding nations that have occupied the country. Nor is it wonderful that the sparse peoples of such a district should have been conquered with ease by the warlike Parthians.

The country of Margiana was sometimes considered as a distinct kingdom, and sometimes as a province of Bactria. The region lay to the north-east of Parthia, and included a much more favorable district than might be found in Chorasmia. The river Margus carried verdure and plenty on its banks, and its waters were diverted, in both ancient and modern times, by channels and canals and dykes, extending for many miles from the principal stream. Strabo has given us an account of the fertility of this region, and of the extraordinary fruitfulness of the vine, bending with rich clusters on the banks of the Margus.

Next among the provinces touching Parthia, and lying on the eastern border of that country, was Arya, the little district which in the fate and vicissitude of things has preserved to modern times the name of our ancestral race. This province embraces the ancient valley of Herat. The country is mountainous, limited in area, not populous, easily subdued by the more powerful Parthians in the time of their warlike greatness.

Next in our progress to the south we find the province of Sarangia, greater in extent than Arya, but hardly stronger in development. Here dwelt the desert barbarians called the Sarangæ. The region was one of alternate hills and plains, not wholly waste, having a few small rivers flowing in a south-westerly direction. It does not appear that the primitive Sarangians were a people of great force, either in war or in peace, and their country was in course of time easily absorbed in the Parthian Empire.

Still skirting the latter country in a south-westerly direction, we come to the larger State of Sagartia—larger, but at the same time more inhospitable, less capable of supporting a great population. The ancient tribes were men of the desert, living after the manner of Bedouin Arabs, subsisting for the most part by the capture of such animals as nature had assigned to the sandy waste. The disposition of the ancient people was more warlike than that of the tribes inhabiting Sagartia and Sarangia; but their armies were never sufficiently strong to compete in battle with the Parthian horsemen.

We now complete the circuit on the west with the province of Hyrcania. As we have said above, this country was at times included under the common name of Parthia. It had the same geographical and climatic character with the latter country. It was traversed through its major diameter by two valleys lying between mountain ridges of considerable elevation. The country was well wooded and fairly watered. In this respect Hyrcania rivaled the better parts of Parthia in excellence of tree-growth and vegetable products. It was said to be a land abounding in shrubs and green slopes and flowers—fruitful in many things, pleasing to the eye, abounding in the creatures of the chase. The country has been represented in both ancient and modern times as especially prolific in animal life. The traveler, as far back as the times of Strabo, was pleased with the prospect. In area the province was considerably inferior to Parthia Proper. Of all the bordering regions of the latter country, Hyrcania, however, was the most interesting and important. It has been urged by Rawlinson and other competent critics of the situation, that the place and character of both the country and people of Parthia were favorable to the expansion of political power and the establishment of a widely extended rule over the surrounding nations.

We have now considered briefly the extent

Map of the
PARTHIAN
EMPIRE
PONTUS EUXINUS
SARMATÆ
MARE CASPIUM sive HYRCANUM
DAHÆ
OXIANA
SCYTHA
R. Oxus
ASPASIACE
CHORASMIA
BACTRA
BACTRA
PERYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
MEDIA
ATROPATENE
MEDIA MAGNA
ESOPOTAMIA
OSROENE
SYRIA
Cyprus
Sidon
Tyrus
DAMASCUS
JUDÆA
HIEROSOLYMA
ANTIOCHIA
Nicephorium
Circesium
Palmyra
Sclaucia
Commagene
Edessa
Carrhæ
Nisibis
NINUS
Haira
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
SELLUCIA
CTESIPHON
BABYLONIA
R. Euphrates
Charax Spasini
SINUS ARABICUS
SINUS PERSICUS
PERSEPOLIS
Carmana
CARMANIA
GEDROSIA
MARE ERYTHRÆUM
Desertum
SACARTIA
SARANGIA
ARACHOSIA
SACASTANA
Alexandria Aryana
Phra
Alexandropolis
R. Etymandrus
R. Indus
R. Hydaspes
R. Hydraotes
R. Hyphasis
Euthydemia
Dara
Antiochia Margiana
BECATOMPYLOS
Pylæ Caspiæ
CHOARENE
ECBATANA
Aspadana
R. Cophen
R. Indus
R. Jaxartes
R. Oxus
R. Labus
R. Marsus
R. Ochus
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
English Miles

and nature of those countries immediately surrounding the original Parthian kingdom, but have by no means included in the description the wide range of countries beyond—countries included in the times of Mithridates in the Parthian Empire. On the north-east we have first of all the extensive country of Bactria. In different ages this region has been variously defined. In general, the country so named was bounded on the south and south-east by the mountains of Hindu Kush; on the north by the Oxus; on the west by Chorasmia and Margiana. In the times of the Parthian ascendency, however, Bactria extended northward far beyond the Oxus Proper to the northern branch of that river, skirting the mountain range which defined the southern limit of Scythia. The country had much of the same character with Margiana and Chorasmia, but was less of a desert, more of a hill country, especially toward the east. The triangular apex of Bactria lying among the mountains under the meridian of 74° east from Greenwich, marked the uttermost limit of the Parthian dominion on the side of India. It suffices to say that the country for a long time resisted the ambitions of the Parthian kings, and it was near the close of the second century B. C. before it was included in their dominions.

On the south of the country just described, bordered on the west by Arya and Sarangia, was the small province of Arachosia, another mountain region of similar character to Bactria, but less severe in climate. It was watered by the river Etymandrus and its tributaries, reaching far into the highlands on the north-east. The country here described occupied the southern, as Bactria occupied the northern, slopes of the Hindu Kush. The province extended through about four meridians of longitude, and was nearly square, marking the extreme south-eastern limits of the Parthian Empire.

Following the boundary of that great dominion to the south-west, we come to the two countries of Sacastana and Carmania, the first lying south of Sarangia and almost wholly desert in character. Carmania is also, in its northern part, a desert waste, and on its southern border next to Gedrosia, a mountainous region. Indeed, the whole of the two countries just mentioned were in ancient times, as they are at present, as little attractive and as poorly adapted to civilization as almost any region of Central Asia.

On the west, however, we come to the country of Persis, or Persia Proper, lying along the gulf of the same name, a region of hills and streams and pleasant prospects. We have here reached, against the sea, the southern limit of the Parthian Empire, at its greatest estate, in one of the most attractive and interesting regions of the whole. Persia has been already described, not only in its narrower, but in its imperial extent; nothing need here be added as to the physical characteristics and possibilities of the country. So also of both the Medias, the Magna, and the Atropatêné. These have been amply described in a former Book.

On the south and west of these great and important countries, but still included in the Parthian dominion, lay Babylonia and all the Mesopotamian countries, bounded by the Euphrates on the west. Here were Susiana, Assyria, Adiabene, and all the regions as far north as the Armenian mountains. The country of Armenia was also included in the Empire of Mithridates, but here we reach the ultimate limits of that Empire on the west. Viewing it as a whole, we find it extending from the extreme western deflection of the Upper Euphrates, in longitude 38° 30′ east to the meridian of 74° in the Hindu Kush. The northernmost limit was on the Oxus, a little above the parallel of 42° N., and the extreme southern boundary on the Persian gulf under the parallel 27° 30′ N. The whole extent from east to west was hardly less than fifteen hundred miles, and the greatest breadth from north to south about four hundred miles. The geographical area was not far from 450,000 square miles, being about co-extensive with the area of the modern Persian Empire.

It must not be understood, however, that the two dominions—Ancient Parthia and Modern Persia—coïncided in their boundaries. A glance at the two maps will enable the reader to note how different were the limits of the ancient Empire from those of its modern

representative. We do not here dwell further upon the physical characteristics and natural potency of the countries held under a single sway by Mithridates, for the reason that the same have already been amply considered in the preceding histories of Babylonia, Assyria, Media, and Persia. We, therefore, pass at once to the consideration of the Parthians as a people, their institutions, general character and manner of life and government.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—PEOPLE AND ARTS.

THE ethnic origin of the Parthian race has not been well determined. It would appear that their arrival in Central Asia was somewhat later than the incoming of many other peoples into that region of the world. Doubtless the Chaldæans, the Assyrians, the Medes, and even the Persians, antedated by several centuries—many centuries in the case of the older of these nations—the arrival of the Parthians in their ancestral seats.

We are here close to one of the great ethnic problems with which the student of history is confronted in the beginning of his inquiry. The question is no less than that of the *origin* of the Aryan family of men. History is able to trace backwards the movements of the Aryan peoples to the region of the Bactrian Highlands, but beyond that all is mist and thick darkness. Did the Aryans come from some other region afar?—some country in which they were associated with the Semitic or Hamitic family of men? The answer is not apparent. We are, therefore, led to begin with the development and migrations of the Aryan tribes from the region of their primitive settlements without the solution of the fundamental problem.

Parthia was not far from the Aryan nidus. We may safely ascribe the origin of the people to the same source with that of the Persians and the Medes. Of a certainty the Parthians were strongly discriminated from the peoples just mentioned. They had more of the Turanian character—fewer of the well-known characteristics of the Indo-Europeans as illustrated in the Hellenic and Roman races. So strongly marked were the distinctions just referred to, that many inquirers have been disposed to regard the Parthians as having a Scythic origin. Arrian, among the ancients, declares his belief in such a derivation. It can not be doubted that there were relations between the Parthians through the tribes of Chorasmia with the Scyths beyond the Oxus. It must be observed that race distinctions fade away somewhat along the border lines where two families of mankind fret and roll together. Modern history furnishes a hundred examples of such obliteration of ethnic features along the boundaries of States and nations.

It was doubtless so in antiquity, but even in a stronger measure. At a time when society was unsettled, when the tribal state had not yet given place to fixedness of residence, there was more frequent mixing and interweaving along the selvages of races than even in modern times. These circumstances may serve to explain the presence of Scythic elements among the ancient Parthians. So that natural and ethnic causes may be found sufficient in number and character to account for the traditions of the Greek and Roman story-tellers who were wont to classify the Parthians with the Scythic race.

We may agree that at the time of the great invasion of all central and Western Asia by the Scythian barbarians, a larger amount of their work and influence remained in Parthia than in the other countries which they conquered. The Parthian language shows unmistakably a Scythic infection—just as English bears indubitable evidence of the Norman conquest. The Parthian vocabulary had in it a large addition of Scythic words, and the civil and military habits of the people were

modeled, to a considerable extent, after those of the Turanian barbarians. There are at the present time certain Teutonic peoples in Europe upon whom the Slavs have made a like impression, insomuch that their race character might be mistaken by even a critical observer. How much the more may such a mistake be expected in the case of an ancient people modified by a foreign influence! We must conclude that the Parthians, along with the Bactrians, Chorasmians, Hyrcanians, Medes, and Persians, belonged to the common family to which the name *Aryan* has been assigned.

The life of the Parthian people, however, had much the aspect of that of the peoples beyond the Oxus. This is to say that, like the Tartar and the Turcoman tribes of a later day, the Parthians were nomadic in habit, spending the greater part of their time on horseback and abroad. The Roman historians, as late as the time of the conflict of the Consular armies with the Parthian cavalry, were struck with astonishment at the manners of a people who transacted the larger part of their business and attended to all duties and avocations, even to eating and drinking, while mounted on their horses. It should not be forgotten, however, that much of the same disposition was shown by the Persians, and the student might, if he would, trace this aspect of Turanian life far into Asia Minor, and even into Europe. In other particulars also the Parthians revealed their innate sympathy with nomadic manners. There was little fixedness of settlement, at least until a late date, in the Parthian ascendency. The old habit of hunting, of riding abroad, of gratifying the passion for rapid transit from scene to scene, continued to prevail, and at length gave form to the organization and tactics of the Parthian army.

It was such a people as these that Cyrus the Great met and conquered in the early years of his aggressive career. The nation was incorporated as one of the satrapies of the Persian Empire, and remained in that dependence until what time the cohorts of Alexander, rising from the West, shattered the Achæmenian Dynasty and reduced it to its original elements. But of the historical development and varying vicissitudes of the Parthian race we shall speak more fully hereafter.

As usual with men of antiquity, the religious life of the Parthians presented many interesting features, and revealed no small part of the national character. We are here, geographically and ethnically speaking, not far from the primitive seat of one of the great religions of mankind. Zoroaster was a Bactrian. We have already seen how the faith and doctrine which he formulated and taught spread among the races of the Great Plateau and became organic in the Zendavesta.

The teachings of the great prophet were accepted by the Achæmenian kings, and were imposed by them as a State religion upon the subject nations of the Persian Empire. Among these was Parthia. Whatever may have been the tribal faith and practice of the old Parthians, they accepted the religion of their conquerors, not only in its early singleness but in its subsequent dualistic development. The wild warriors of the Parthian plain came to believe in Ahura-Mazdâo as the fountain of all Good, and in Ahriman as the source of all Evil.

We have had occasion, in a former chapter, to trace the rise of this belief and its evolution among the Iranic peoples. It was from this source that Dualism as a principle of philosophic belief made its way to the West, became interfused with the speculations of the Western nations, and at last intertwined itself with the opinions and practices of the leading peoples of modern times. But it must be allowed that dualism—the division of the universe into the two parts of good and evil and the creation of a hierarchy of the Powers set against each other in perpetual warfare, involving the lives and actions of men—is a natural growth peculiar to the human mind at a certain epoch of its career. We have seen such phenomena in the valley of the Nile, in the valley of the Euphrates, and in the highest activity on the Iranian plateau. We shall hereafter see traces of the same thing in the mercurial intellect of the Greeks, in the heavier cogitations of the Romans, and in the dreams of the Teutonic barbarians in their forest solitudes. But among all peoples, the races now under consideration

were most active in the development of such a belief and in its dissemination. Zoroaster was the abstract and chronicle of the religious opinions and philosophical speculations of the peoples among whom he appeared. The Parthians took his system and entertained it during their period of ascendency. Indeed, in nearly all respects they became the representatives of the Persians who had preceded them.

But in the hands of the Parthians, as in the hands of the Persians, the Zoroastrian system suffered deterioration. It went at length into the form of Magism and idolatry. It were difficult to say to how great an extent the idolatrous aspect of the Magian cult was the result of the revival of the ancient polytheistic instincts of the race. Perhaps a part of the degeneration may be attributed to this cause, and part to the rise of a priesthood. Here the history of Parthia could but repeat the common story of the mischief always done, the havoc always wrought with a national religion when it falls into the hands of a priesthood. Then it is that superstition, selfishness, folly, the pride of caste, and the ambition of power begin to take the place of the religious fervor which marks the earlier stages of development. Henceforth the history of religion becomes a history of forms which by their growth and inflection quench the glow that dwelt in the spirits of the primitive prophets.

The Parthians fell under the dominion of these influences. The Magi soon became a powerful caste in the State. Fire, as the emblem of the sun, and perhaps the emblem of life, became the object of superstitious adoration. The elements of nature were held in sacred awe. Rivers were worshiped, as were many other parts of the material world. The superstitions which we have noted in the case of the Persians revived among the Parthians. The dead might not be buried, but must rather be exposed on high in the tops of towers, where the bodies might be devoured by the birds of the air. After the lapse of a long time the bones might be gathered and deposited in tombs. The sacred fire must be kept burning by the priests. In short, the whole ritual of Magism must be performed—the ceremonies of the faith perpetuated by the people. Under such conditions, the Magi at one time became especially powerful. They were members of the National Council, under the Parthian kings, and were as haughty, arrogant, and arbitrary as they and their class have always been in their despotism over society.

At length, however, Magism fell into a decline. The high priests lost their hold upon the Government. It would appear that a sort of original paganism revived, which may well remind one in its manifestation of the beliefs and practices prevalent on the banks of the Tiber and in the German woods. The Sun became the principal object of Parthian worship. After him the Moon was adored as the divinity of night. We might almost transfer and adapt in this connection the celebrated chapter of the Sixth Book of the Cæsarian *Commentaries*, wherein Julius describes the religion of the Teutonic nations. The prevailing principle was that those objects of nature only were fit to be worshiped by the aid of which men were manifestly benefited. The system was thus virtually devoid of speculation. The Sun did good to men. Therefore the Sun might well be worshiped. On a lower plane we find the common beliefs of the Aryan nations in minor divinities and spirits by whom the smaller affairs of life were controlled and guided. There were genii of the day-time, genii of the night, genii of the hearthstone, the spirits of the fathers, and the Larvæ of the earth. The system in its last estate was not essentially different from that of the Pagan nations of Europe.

The men of Alexander took with them into the East the religious beliefs of the Hellenic Aryans. The name of the Olympian Zeus was heard in Babylon, in Seleucia, in Ctesiphon, in Ecbatana, in Persepolis, in Hatra, and in Bactra. Wherever the Greek cities were planted, there the mythology of the West, with its ample inflections, was founded. This invasion of Zoroastrianism and Magism the Parthians seem not to have resented. As a general fact the Aryan religions have been tolerant; those of Shem have refused to know other than themselves. The same principle was illustrated when the Romans became the conquerors of the East. They also carried

their religious system, such as it was, to the banks of the Euphrates and far beyond.

Already before this time Judaism had been propagated by several means in the Aryan countries. At a still later period, when Rome was converted to Christianity, the new faith was carried under the protection of the eagles to the uttermost limits of the Empire. It were impossible to say to what extent these foreign religious influences permeated Parthia and brought her people under their sway. Already at the time of the primitive apostles, Parthian Christianity had become a fact; and St. Luke enumerates the Parthians along with the Medes and Elamites among the strangers gathered in Jerusalem. All this would indicate on the part of the Parthian monarchs the same tolerant spirit which the Greeks and Romans were wont to show to alien systems of religion.

One of the chief forms of activity among the Parthians was war. It is from their military character that the race is best known to the world. Long before the close of the Ancient Era the name of this people was heard as far west as Rome—and generally with terror. They it was doubtless whom Horace had in view under the name of *Medii* in the *Secular Hymn*:—

Now by the sea and on the land, *the Mede*
Fears the strong squadrons and the axe of Rome;
Now the late haughty Scythian doth plead
For mild response—and men of India come.

The reader may, therefore, well be surprised to note the fact that this most warlike nation, whose fierce, wild cavalry swept like flying clouds across the deserts of the Great Plateau, had no fixed military establishment—no standing army. It appears, on the contrary, that the Parthians, by their disposition and habit of life, constituted what may be called a natural soldiery. There were two branches to the Parthian service, the cavalry and the foot. But the first was the important part. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Parthian infantry was of much value in the field. It was upon the cavalry that the kings relied for victory; and the reliance was not misplaced.

In time of war the Parthian monarch called upon his vassals to bring forth each his quota of warriors for the field. It appears that the constitution of Parthian society was essentially feudal. The vassal was bound to his suzerain in the matter of military service. He must call out his retainers and slaves, see to their equipment and mounting, bring them to the place of rendezvous, and command them in battle. It was thus that the army was made up of bands of warriors drawn from the various districts after the manner of the Crusaders. But a common enthusiasm pervaded the whole, and there was no lack of unity in the general command. This was reserved for the king in person, and for his generalissimo, called the *Surena*.

The latter may be regarded as the head baron of the country. The office which he held hereditary in his family. It is doubtful whether even the king could displace him from the position in which he was fixed by heredity and custom. The same was in great measure true of the other vassals. Each commanded in his own right, and held his place at home and in the field in virtue of what may be called the Parthian constitution.

Looking at the organization of the army, we find a heavy-horse and a light-horse contingent. The first was the main branch of the service. This wing was undoubtedly the finest cavalry of the ancient world. The warriors were armed in mail as to their bodies, the scale-armor of iron and steel descending as low as the knees, well made and strong, polished to brightness, capable of resisting any of the ordinary missiles of the battle-field. On the head was a helmet, also burnished, heavy, and well made. The arms and the legs were free, as they must needs be in fighting from the horse.

The weapons of these Parthian dragoons were bows and arrows and a spear. All these were long and strong. The arrow was shot with such violence that its flight was said to be invisible from its rapidity, and scarcely any armor of the enemy could protect the wearer from its fall. The spear was equally fatal, being thrust with a violence which frequently impaled two warriors with a single blow. The horseman also carried a short sword, which in close quarters he drew and used with fearful effect. The horses of the dragoons, like their

riders, wore a scale armor in battle, having the same adjusted to their heads, necks, and breasts. The light-horse carried bows and arrows, but were unarmored, and bore no spears. The value of this wing depended upon its dexterity. Horsemen of this class hovered within bow-shot, discharging their arrows with great rapidity, wheeling to right and left, attacking the flank, and manœuvering in such manner as to confuse the enemy.

The supply-train of the Parthian army was furnished by a caravan of camels laden with provisions and military accoutrements. It has been noted that the Parthians, advancing to battle, always carried an abundance of arrows, so that literal showers of these missiles might be rained upon the enemy. The attack was made with the utmost spirit. So far as strategy was concerned, the same consisted in deceiving the enemy; in bringing him into unfavorable situations; in cutting off supplies; in taking advantage of any temporary confusion that might occur, and finally in the furious charge directly on the line. This mode of attack was like a thunder-gust which expended itself with the onset. When the flying squadrons came within reach of the adverse lines, they began to rain upon them a terrible discharge of arrows, which was kept up incessantly until the actual shock of combat, when the spears, and finally the swords, were used. It was the expectation by this means to break everything into confusion and sweep the enemy from the field. But if the charge was firmly met, the battle generally continued for but a few minutes after the shock, when the Parthians would turn to flight.

This, however, was a deceptious movement, intended to draw the enemy into pursuit. The dragoons, as well as the light-horse, merely scampered out of reach, and immediately formed anew. If the foe, unacquainted with this manœuver, should chance to follow, and offer by the break of the lines or other fortuitous circumstances any advantage, the onset would be immediately renewed by the Parthians in a second charge like the first. This manner of battle was on the whole especially effective. It is probably true that in the whole vast circle of victory and Imperial conquest the Roman legions never met anywhere on the frontiers of the world a more dangerous enemy than was this same Parthian army. Hereafter we shall show in many details of campaign and battle the results of the doubtful contests waged by Rome with the mailed dragoons of Parthia. The fact has been cited that in the six great campaigns made by the Mistress of the World into the countries beyond the Euphrates she was obliged in no fewer than five to yield the palm to her skillful and courageous antagonist.

Several additional facts connected with the Parthian method of warfare may be cited as of interest to the general reader. The Parthians avoided all military movements, particularly battle, in the night. Perhaps the management of cavalry in the darkness is attended with greater peril and difficulty than are consequent upon the evolutions of infantry. Moreover, the Parthians did not employ fortifications, either for their camp or in the field. For the rest, superstition may have had something to do with that feature of the tactics which required the withdrawal of the army at nightfall to a considerable distance, and the total avoidance of battle or further movements until the morrow.

For reasons of a similar character the winter was avoided as unsuited to campaigning. We may readily perceive that the summer season, as in all other countries and conditions, would be regarded as a favorable time for those rapid and headlong movements upon which the success of Parthian warfare especially depended. It was noted, moreover, by the Greeks and Romans in their conflicts with the Parthians, that the latter could endure heat and deprivation of water much better than themselves—a circumstance which gave a not inconsiderable advantage to the warriors of the East.

On the other hand, the latter were weak in all operations pertaining to sieges and investments. In the nature of the case, the Parthian cavalry were unable to carry a fortified position. They appear to have been almost ignorant of the machinery and appliances necessary to a siege. The Romans, therefore, were comparatively safe in the fortified sta-

tions which they established on the eastern borders of the Empire. But they could never be completely at rest in such situations; for their supplies were constantly endangered by the ceaseless vigilance of the Parthian horsemen. Whenever communications could be cut off, it became simply a question of time when the Romans must come forth and take the hazards of the open field in a movement towards the base of supplies. Such retreats were nearly always fatal. The Parthians, whenever they perceived a movement of the kind, were on the alert. No straggler henceforth escaped. On both wings and the rear of the receding army a cloud of warriors might be seen hovering in the horizon, and a single misstep of the retreating forces was sufficient to effect their ruin.

Another feature of the Parthian warfare was the absence of chariots and vehicles of all kinds. Those who could not ride must walk. In general, it might be said that the whole force was mounted on either horses or camels. In rare instances members of the royal household, the women and others, were borne after the army in chariots. Sometimes the ponderous bulk of an elephant was seen; but this generally marked the presence of the monarch or the generalissimo. These important personages were sometimes made conspicuous, as well as secure, by having their station on the backs of trained elephants. In rare cases camels were used by the cavalry in actual battle; but the Greeks and Romans learned that these beasts could be easily disabled by sowing *tribuli*, or iron stars, in the way of their spongy feet.

In the Parthian manner battle was made with as much noise as possible. The army was accompanied with its musicians, or clamor-makers, who in time of the onset beat upon metal drums, which resounded over the plains, and was answered by the wild shouts of the horsemen as they rushed to the onset. The charge, as we have said, was at full speed. The oncoming of the flying squadrons was so rapid that they seemed to the Romans to rise out of the earth. As soon as the charge had broken upon the legions, the horsemen, if unsuccessful, fled, as we have seen; but in doing so fired backwards. Nor were the enemy able to perceive any diminution in the shower of arrows until the receding column was out of reach

Out of the nature of things war brings cessation, and finally armistice and treaty. These things require formalities. Since war was the mood of antiquity, rules for formal intercourse between belligerents were devised at an early day. The Parthians had a well-regulated ceremonial of the field and for military conferences. It was the custom, when they desired to confer with an enemy, to go forward in full sight with unstrung bows. This signified a desire to communicate with the enemy. The right hand was stretched out towards the opposing camp, to signify the wish for a parley. When the preliminaries of the conference had thus been arranged, the formal representatives of the two powers were wont to come together on some neutral ground, as on a bridge spanning some boundary stream, and there discuss the terms of settlement. Under such circumstances treaties were made. Nor could it be said that the Parthians were less faithful in the observance of stipulations to which they had agreed than were the Greeks and Romans. From the former of these peoples, who in the times of Alexander had established themselves and planted their civilization in many cities, old and new, throughout the East, the Parthians had acquired a knowledge of the Greek tongue, and this for several centuries was used as the medium of civil and military intercourse between them and the nations of the West.

It were a mistaken view of the subject to consider the Parthian administration in the times of the Empire as a government of barbarous principles and methods. On the contrary, it became as well refined as the contemporaneous governments which had in the meantime been established by the European Aryans. The forms of intercourse were regular and enlightened. Embassies were sent by the Parthian monarchs to foreign courts, and such were received in turn at the Parthian capitals. It was the custom of the times to send by the hands of international commissioners presents from king to king as seemed befitting to the age and condition. In none

of these respects were the Parthian monarchs less scrupulous than their contemporaneous sovereigns in the West. The intercourse between Phraates IV. and the Emperor Augustus was conducted as between monarch and monarch of equal rank. Ambassadorial courtesies were common, and without disparagement to the kings of the East. The usual methods of maintaining international faith were observed. Oaths were made and pledges given after the manner of antiquity. The giving and taking of hostages was one of the commonest means of securing good faith and the fulfillment of agreements. It happened on several occasions that members of the Parthian royal family were freely sent to Rome in pledge of the fidelity of the king to his stipulations with the Western Empire.

If from the consideration of war we turn to the peaceful aspect of life and look at the king and his court, we shall find much of interest and instruction. True, we are constrained for the most part to consider the aspect of this royal life in the East through a glass darkly; for its manner has been mostly narrated by the historians of Greece and Rome and Jewry. The Parthians were not themselves a literary people, and but few original sources of information are at our command. First of all, we may refer to the national amusement, which was hunting. After war it would appear that the next highest source of interest and excitement among the people, whether of noble or of common rank, was the attack on wild beasts. We have seen this trait of character already displayed in Assyria and Persia. Nor is it needed that we should return to antiquity to find a similar passion in full activity. Nearly every people, indeed, on its advance from half-barbarity to civilization has found gratification in the pursuit and killing of wild animals. In the first intent the wild beast takes the place of the enemy. Its blood is typical of his. The fall of the boar under the arrow's flight or spear-thrust of the pursuer is next in the scale of delight to the fall of the enemy in battle.

Parthia abounded in wild beasts. On the Assyrian borders the lion was found. Hyrcania was the native lair of tigers so fierce that "Hyrcanian" became an epithet descriptive of the most dangerous species of that animal. Leopards and bears also abounded. The Parthian hunters followed these animals into their haunts, and exposed their lives in the contest. In course of time, however, when the Empire was established, pleasure and excitement were sought in a manner more artistic and less dangerous. Then were constructed the great parks, called by the Eastern nations "Paradises," wherein animals taken from the forests were loosed, to live and propagate their kind under the dominion of half-natural conditions. Here the artificial hunt was made. The king and his companions traversed the paradise, raised the wild beast from his covert, pursued and smote him after the manner of the ancient chase in the wild and desert.

We may glance at the appearance of the king when he went forth as a hunter. On such occasions he wore a short cloak, of which we find examples on the monuments and coins. A helmet protected his head, and in his hand he carried the strong bow with the double curve, the animal tendon for a thong, and the swift arrow against which nothing alive might stand. Like his countryman, the monarch went on horseback. His person was ornamented in barbaric fashion with jewels and gold. His horse wore trappings of the same splendid fashion with the king's garments, and the attendants were only less gorgeous in their apparel, less haughty in manner, than the monarch himself.

At the Court another fashion prevailed. Here a long robe, like that of the Persian and Median nobles, was worn by the king. The insignia of royalty were hung about his neck. A diadem circled his forehead, and his ears supported rings and jewels. Like her consort, the queen-in-chief, preëminent above the harem, proud in her ascendency over hundreds of concubines which the law granted to the sovereign, adorned herself in a manner equally splendid. She, as well as he, received the title of Divine. She, like the king, wore a diadem and sometimes a tiara. Not often, however, was she permitted, under the custom of the race, to obtrude herself into public affairs. More than those of any other of the

Aryan peoples were the social and domestic habits of the Parthians conformed to the manners of the Orient. Polygamy was the law of the land. The harem was the expression of the social system in its ultimate analysis. All women except the characterless crowd of *Hetæræ*, dancers, and the like, who followed in the wake of the army, were secluded from sight. They must hide themselves like the women of Shem. They must be veiled, that their faces be not seen by men. With men they must not converse, except with their husbands in the harem. The sexes were separated at the domestic meal and at the public banquet. The care of the harem was intrusted to eunuchs, after the manner already described in the history of Persia.

We have already remarked upon the small intellectual development of the Parthian people, as shown in the absence of literature and art. Their learning proceeded as far as the mastery of their own tongue and, in the best days of the Empire, a very general acquirement of Greek. It appears that the Parthian kings and their subjects were quick to discover the superiority of the language of the men of Alexander, and were not long in adopting it, at least as the speech of their higher intercourse. Greek was introduced as the official language. The Parthian coins bore Greek inscriptions, and that tongue was, as we have seen, used for several centuries in all the important intercourse between the Parthians and the Western nations.

Beyond this it does not appear that the subjects of Phraates and Mithridates were able to progress. Of science they knew not even the rudiments. Their interpretation of nature, in so far as they were curious to know the laws of phenomena, was purely mythological. Of sculpture they knew but little, and of painting perhaps nothing at all. This is to say, that of the higher forms of pictorial art they were ignorant, except by incidental intercourse with the Greeks and Romans. In these respects the Parthian race was in striking analogy with the Medes and Persians, whose want of genius in the particulars here referred to has been noted by many critics and historians.

The activities of the Parthians were thus physical rather than intellectual. They lacked altogether the imaginative and speculative disposition of the Greeks, and indeed of all the European Aryans. The civilization which they established was material in the highest degree. The nation was not without great force, great outward activity, and inner energy; but the poetic dream, the imaginative flight, the artistic concept, were things unknown, even in the highest development to which the Parthian people could attain.

In an architectural way the achievements of the Parthians were more creditable. It is in architecture that physical energies, combined with the lower forms of ideality, find their best expression. We have several instances in history of peoples who succeeded in reaching a fair degree of architectural work without attaining to poetry and art. In its higher manifestations architecture, of course, becomes ideal. It expresses at the last the imaginative powers of the human mind, and is only secondary in rank to sculpture and painting. But in its lower forms it is the most material of all the arts. Thus far the Parthians were able to proceed in the human evolution, and no farther.

As a rule the Asiatic Aryans have not been great builders. We have seen how small a thing the Medes transmitted to after times as it respects their architectural achievements. The Persians, under the Achæmenian kings, rose to a higher level of structural ability. In the preceding Book the reader has been made acquainted with the palaces and temples of Persepolis, and of one or two other of the principal Persian cities. But even here we fail to note the splendor and abundance of Assyria, to say nothing of Egypt and Greece. On the Great Plateau the energies of human life have always been expended in forms of action different from those of closely crowded and permanent societies like those of the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile.

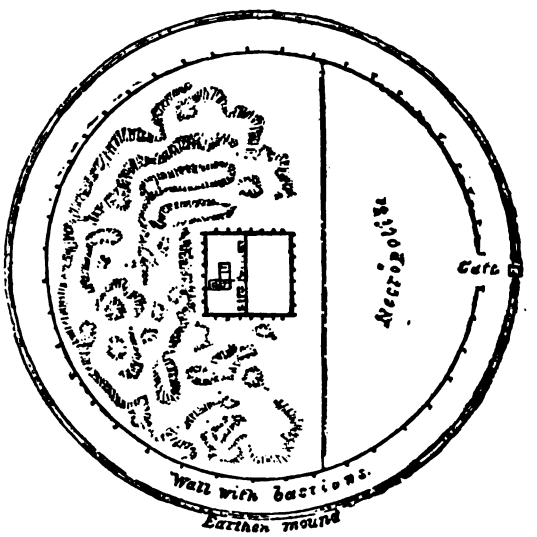
Parthia was not rich in temples or palaces or tombs. This is true particularly of the Parthian kingdom in the earlier times, before the expansion of the nation had resulted in the establishment of a great dominion. The old kings and the primitive nobility were bar-

baric in their habits and manners, caring little for fixedness, and not much for visible splendors. The consideration of the building methods and results in the country is attended with difficulties from the historical changes to which it was subject. The determination of the age of a given ruin is uncertain; so that the inquirer may not well ascertain whether the work has been done by the ancient race, in the Greek period, under the Arsacidæ, or under the subsequent Sassanians. It is the architecture of the Arsacidæ only which we should regard as truly Parthian in its character. The remains of those structures which were made subsequent to the year 226 A. D., must be regarded as the work of a later period. Rawlinson has determined the time in which the true national building was effected as covering about two centuries; namely, the first and second of our era. But we must remember that the works remaining to us of this period were merely the highest development of a kind of building which had been cultivated for several preceding centuries.

The unfixedness of Parthian society is well illustrated in the fact that the seat of the government was not established at any one city, but was transferred from place to place, according to the preference of the monarch. There were thus several Parthian capitals, among which there was little preëminence. At the time when the Empire was at its greatest expansion, the city of Hatra was perhaps the most centralized and important place of residence for the Great Kings. It is from the ruins of this old metropolis that we are best able to gather an adequate idea of the ancient architecture of the country. By the Greeks the city was called Ctesiphon. It was situated on the left bank of the Tigris, over against Seleucia, the capital of the Seleucidæ, where the successors of Alexander for awhile established themselves. Ctesiphon was built by the Parthians across the river from the Greek capital, and at length grew into a place of importance. With the decline of the Greek power in Asia, Seleucia shrank away, while the Parthian city was improved and enlarged.

The founding of this Hatra is assigned to Vardanes; not the monarch of that name, but another, whose history has not been determined. It appears that the city flourished greatly in the latter days of the Parthian Empire, but declined with the dominion of which it constituted one of the principal ornaments, only to be revived at a subsequent period by the Sassanian kings. In the year 232 A. D., when the Roman Emperor Severus overran the country, the prisoners out of Ctesiphon were estimated at a hundred thousand.

We are here concerned, however, with the character of the architecture of the Parthian period. Hatra had the novel characteristic of being circular in form. The city was surrounded by a wall, thick and strong, about



PLAN OF HATRA.

three miles in circumference, and a true circle in form. The rampart was built of cut stone, strengthened with bastions at intervals of a hundred and seventy yards. Outside of the wall was a ditch, broad and deep, and beyond this was a mole, or agger, drawn around after the manner of the ancients. We thus see that at the time of the Parthian ascendency the building arts and military expedients of the West had been introduced to the extent of making the capital city easily defensible against a powerful enemy. The nomadic instincts of the race had stooped to the adoption of those rational means by which cities are protected from assault.

From north to south across the circle formed by the great wall, and constituting an

arc thereof, was a river channel passing through and furnishing water to the inhabitants. Perhaps the course of the stream had been artificially rectified, as the antiquarian has found it to be a right line through the midst. In this respect the city was not unlike Babylon, receiving the river through the wall on the one side and permitting its outflow on the other. There was thus formed two segments, a greater and a smaller, within the circle of the wall. In the smaller and eastern division were the burial-grounds of the people, while the residence portion occupied the greater division west of the stream. Here were placed the public buildings, the palaces of the king and his officers and nobles, and whatever temples the religious system of the country demanded.

All these structures have in great measure gone down to dust; but enough remains to give the antiquarian a correct idea of the whole. The ruins have been explored by Layard, Fergusson, Ainsworth, and Ross, with the same general result as to the character of the ancient buildings of the city. Special attention has been directed to a large edifice standing near the center, and considered to have been the palace of the king, with perhaps an adjoining temple. Around the whole was a wall in the form of a parallelogram, having the respective dimensions of seven hundred and eight hundred feet. The wall was of cut stone, and was strengthened at frequent intervals with bastions like those found in the outer rampart of the city. Within this inclosure were two courts, the first being open and free from architectural remains, and the second containing the ruins of the two edifices to which we have just referred.

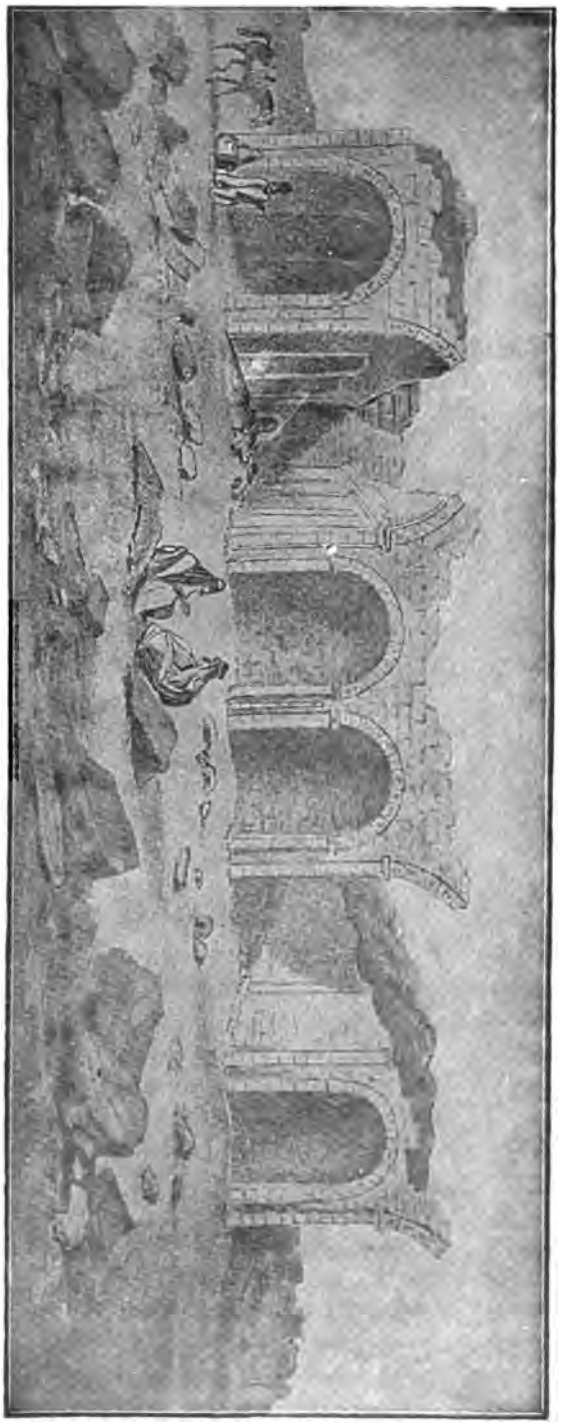
It is believed that the larger of the two, so far as the ground plan was concerned, was the less important and imposing. It has been conjectured that this division of the general structure was intended as a residence for the king's guard, the minor officers, and servants of the court. The second building appears to have been the royal residence. It consisted—as has been determined by the ruins—of seven principal halls lying parallel, opening to the east. Three of these were of larger and four of smaller dimensions. All were arched or vaulted. The smaller halls were thirty feet in depth and twenty feet in width, and the height was thirty feet. The larger halls had a depth or length of ninety feet, were thirty-five feet in breadth and sixty feet in height. Into these vaulted and elongated chambers light was admitted from the eastern openings, which are supposed to have been closed with curtains in the times of occupancy.

The observer standing in front of the structure would see a façade of cut stone well laid in a great wall from right to left, pierced by seven archways, resembling very much the entrances to stone viaducts, tunnels, or the under arches of bridges, such as we see in modern architecture. These arched halls constituted the great apartments of the palace. They were ornamented within, and at the further extremity terminated in smaller rooms, which were doubtless the sleeping chambers of the occupants. In the façade, considerable skill was shown by the stone-cutters and builders. The seven arches, three of greater and four of smaller dimensions, were so arranged as to give a pleasing effect. The arches were sprung from sculptured pilasters, bearing spirited figures, some real and some mythological in character. In one place a female form, floating in air, was represented in a way to remind the beholder of the more elegant figures thus suspended in the mural decorations of Pompeii. In several places heads were carved in the stone, particularly in the keystone, in a manner peculiar to the Parthian workmen, but by no means devoid of art.

The side walls of the arched halls within were relieved by square pilasters rising from the floor to the spring of the vault. In this part much ornamental work was done. There were capitals and ovals and peculiar carvings of several varieties, especially in the line of the cornice. Here again, on the capitals of the pilasters, were found human heads and mythological creatures, some of which were truly remarkable in character, and without likeness among any other known sculptures. It has been noticed, moreover, by antiquarians that the figures in question were all marked by a striking quality of spirit and activity—a

certain airiness of life almost jocose in its expression.

A close examination of the structure here before us has led to the belief that the first story, now remaining in ruins, was surmounted by a second and perhaps a third story of nearly the same height, but of different character from the first. In these, of course, the arched openings would be wanting, their place being taken by windows or apertures not unlike what we should expect in a modern building. Some have gone so far as to construct restorations of the palace, giving the full façade of about three hundred feet from right to left, and a height of three stories. Nor is it improbable that the conjecture fairly represents to the eye the true outline of the ancient edifice. And in this we may not forbear to note the close resemblance of the restoration to the well-known appearance of the projection of a great railway station in Europe or America. The arches in the first story correspond to the openings for the tracks, and the second and third stories above are not unlike the superstructure of our stations for passengers.



RUINS OF HATRA.

We have already remarked that at the bottom or further end of the great halls were arranged the apartments of actual occupation. Research has shown among these the usual division between those assigned to the men and those occupied by the women. It is in evidence that the arrangements in this respect were strictly Oriental, the aim being to prevent the free intercourse of the men and the women of the court.

Something has already been said of the adjacent structure, to which antiquarians have assigned the office of a temple. It is not certainly known that such was the use of the edifice. The ground plan shows a square of about forty feet in each dimension. It appears that the building was surrounded through its whole extent by a hall or passage-way, which was vaulted after the manner of the halls in the palace. Two windows were so set as to admit the light into the passage. The doorway bore a frieze which exhibited some of the finest work which the Parthian chisels were

able to produce. As to the interior apartment, that also was of a vaulted form above, and dimly lighted by a single aperture. It has been noted that the main apartment within was devoid of ornamentation, and from this fact the conjecture has been principally formed that the room was devoted to religious worship. The severe spirit of the Iranians did not permit the religious thought to be distracted from the contemplation of the unseen by the interposition of material forms.

The present sketch may serve as an outline of building at its best estate among the Parthians. While the race may not by any means be compared in its structural abilities with the Greeks, the Romans, or the Egyptians, it may well be likened to the Persians and Susianians. The work which we have here described was on the whole substantially and well done. The building material—a gray-brown limestone—was selected of the proper quality, and was handled with skill. The cutting was done with great exactitude. No mortar or cement has been found in any of the walls. It would appear that the builders relied wholly upon perfect work by the chisel for the fitting and juxtaposition of the materials. Like the builders of Egypt and Baalbec, they relied upon the accuracy of the line and the perfection of the work rather than on the uncertain and dubious expedient of mortar.

We have already remarked that the smaller segment within the circular wall of Hatra was for the most part a necropolis. The surface of this part is marked with many small structures, square as to their shape, built of stone, but long since fallen into ruins. It can hardly be doubted that they were the sepulchres of the Parthian citizens dwelling across the river. In general, the foundations are about twenty feet square, but are sometimes larger. Doubtless each structure marks the resting-place of the members of a given family or kindred. The work is plain and solid. The subterranean apartments are of a peculiar bell-shape, widening to the bottom somewhat after the manner of the modern cistern. Such underground rooms are carefully walled with stone well laid, plain, and substantial. It is quite likely that the vaults were used as a receptacle for the bones collected from the towers of the dead, where, as already explained, the flesh of the bodies had been plucked away and devoured by the birds of the air.

It is clear, however, that burial, in the proper sense, came at length to be practiced by the Parthians. We may well infer that the notions of the Babylonians were to some extent adopted by the Parthian people of the times of the Empire. At all events coffins are found not wholly dissimilar to those of the ancient Chaldees, but there is a sufficient variation from the type to indicate a change of use and manner. Instead of the so-called "dish-cover" vessel, the Parthians employed what is known as the "slipper" coffin, so named from its resemblance in shape to a slipper. Such boxes were of earthenware, a blue-green in color, and glazed and ornamented in the way of finish. They are found of all lengths, from three to six feet, are not untasteful in form, and are perhaps among the most durable sarcophagi ever invented.

PARTHIAN SLIPPER COFFIN.

The antiquary, by careful examination, has found near the foot of the box an aperture evidently designed for the escape of the gases generated in putrefaction. As for the principal opening, that was closed over the face of the dead with a lid, which was no doubt hermetically sealed in its place. The small art of the Parthians sought expression on the coffin-lid, which was not infrequently adorned with figures either suggestive of the life and manners of the dead or emblematical of some

of those wavering hopes wherewith the living of all ages have beguiled themselves in the presence of death.

We have come in this connection to the consideration of such indifferent Art as the Parthians were able to produce. We have seen how unfavorable on the whole the country was for an artistic development, and how little genius for reproduction of forms and images the Parthian race possessed. The remains of this people, however, are sufficient to show a certain degree of æsthetic perception, and a corresponding measure of artistic achievement. First of all, we may mention the terra-cotta statuettes which are found in the ruins of the Parthian cities. Some of these Loftus has described with his usual care. The Parthian artist seems to have preferred the recumbent posture in the subject of his work. One effigy represents a warrior reclining at a banquet. He wears his helmet, his coat of mail, and his greaves. There is evidently much truthfulness in the delineation. Female figures are represented according to the fitness of things. The figure is draped, and the face veiled after the manner of the East. In some instances, however, it appears that the infection of Western art had reached to Iran, for examples have been found in which a portion of the person and the lower limbs are nude.

From these attempts at the representation of the highest existing form, namely, the body of man, we may pass to the consideration of utensils. These were to a certain extent of artistic outline and finish. The vases and jars, water-jugs and lamps, of the Parthian people were of terra-cotta, and were sufficiently well-formed to merit praise even in a modern collection of such objects. In general, the same were modeled after the Babylonian pattern, being produced on the potter's wheel, and hardened by the heat of the furnace. It may be noted in this connection that the larger part of the pottery recovered from the Parthian period has been found in the sepulchral vaults, where, no doubt, food and drink were placed by the hand of that superstitious affection which was stretched out by all the ancient peoples over the burial-place of the departed.

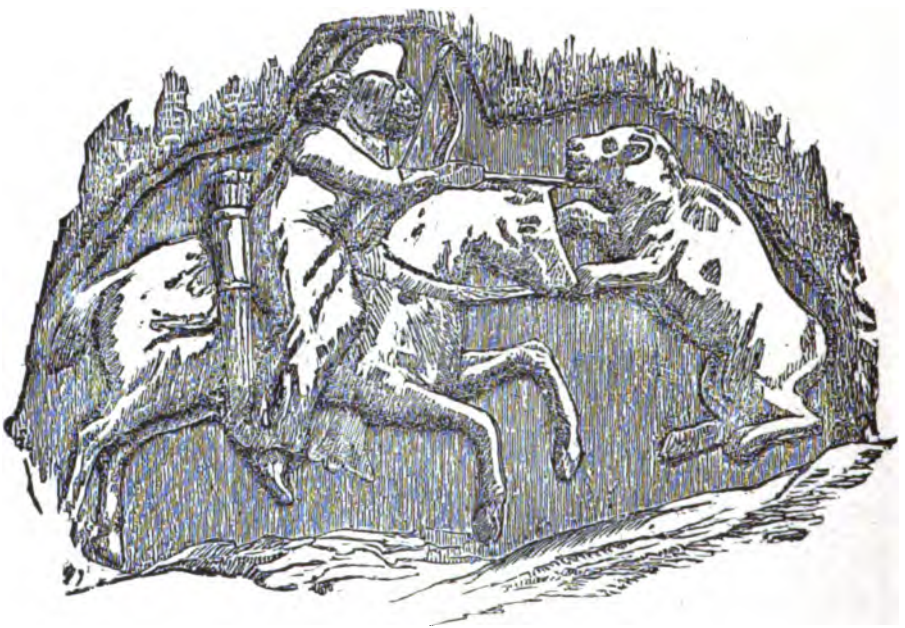
PARTHIAN VASES, JUGS, AND LAMPS.

From utensils we may pass to personal decorations. These were many, and not inelegant. We have already referred to the triple necklaces worn by the kings and queens, and doubtless by the nobility. The diadems of royal personages were adorned with jewels. Ear-rings and finger-rings appear to have been generally worn by both men and women. Beads and bangles were of the fashion, as were also armlets, wristlets, anklets, and the like. The toes were often adorned with rings. In the manufacture of ornaments the Parthian smiths employed the precious metals, as also copper and brass. Another kind of personal ornament much in vogue, especially among the nobility, was the band of gold which was made to depend from caps and mitres in the style of modern ribbons. The inference of great personal pride may be deduced from the universality of adornments for the person.

It is the decision of antiquaries that not more than a half dozen authentic examples of Parthian bas-reliefs have been recovered. From these the opinion of the modern reader must be formed relative to the extent and character of Parthian sculpture. On the Rock of Behistun one of these examples is found. It consists of a procession of figures moving in one direction, somewhat after the manner of the procession on the frieze of the Parthenon. Some of the figures are on foot, but the rest are mounted, and are riding with lance at rest,

evidently in the charge of battle. In one part a flying figure appears, which is thought to represent Fame or Victory. The attitude of both men and horses is spirited, and it is believed that the work, before the decay which has come through centuries of exposure to the elements, was of a high order of artistic merit. It has been observed, however, that there are discrepancies in the design, as for instance, the circlet, or diadem, which Flying Fame holds over the head of the warrior is altogether *too large*, being sufficient to cover his whole figure! But this is, as Hamlet might say, to consider the question "too curiously."

Other bas-reliefs have been discovered in various places. A favorite subject was the horse and the man. One work of great value and merit represents a Magus, or High Priest, in the oracular attitude. At his right hand is the cone burr. He is in full robe of office. He wears a mitre that might almost have suited one of the mediæval Popes. His hair is worn long, and is curiously done into a broad puff extending laterally on both sides at the back of the neck as far as the shoulders. Still another example of such art is that of a mounted hunter engaged in conflict with a bear. His spear is at the animal's throat. His horse rises and the bear rears on his hind legs for the final struggle. The work is rudely done, but the design is true to nature and marked with much spirit. The figure on horseback presents a wonderful beard, curled into a puff surrounding all the lower part of the face, and balanced behind with a corresponding protuberance of the hair. The bear much resembles an American grizzly in his form and attitude, and the hunter seems to be clad as a man of the arctic regions.



HUNTER KILLING A BEAR.

On the whole, however, and to sum up results, it might almost be said that the Parthians were a people wholly inartistic in taste and habit. No doubt a single Greek town of the second or third class, in the times of the Hellenic ascendency, exhibited a larger range of art work, whether of the chisel or the brush, than did the whole Empire of Mithridates spreading through many lands, from the little principality of Osrhœne in the upper bend of the Euphrates to the summits of the Hindu Kush.

CHAPTER XXXV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY ANNALS.

AS we have said in the preceding chapter, the tribal history of the Parthians is lost in the mist and distance. Nor need the reader of the present age cultivate the anxious spirit relative to the origin of the migrations and the wild nomadic life of a primitive people so far removed in time and place from all the interests of the world that now is. Certain it is that the Parthians were little known to the Semitic peoples, as is evidenced by the fact that the name is not found in the Hebrew Scriptures.

We have already spoken of the Aryan origin of the Parthian people and the probable intermixture with them of the Scyths. Their first emergence into historical view is in connection with the story of the Persian Empire at that juncture when the Pseudo-Smerdis attempted by false pretensions to gain possession of the throne. The narrative of that interesting episode in Persian history has already been presented. At the time of the conspiracy the Parthians revolted and upheld the cause of Smerdis against Darius Hystaspis until what time both they and the Pretender were put down.

From this circumstance we learn that at this time—namely, in 521 B. C.—Parthia was a province, or satrapy, of the Persian Empire. It appears, indeed, that Hystaspes, father of Darius the Great, held the office of satrap of

PARTHIAN WARRIORS.

Parthia at the time of the Smerdian revolt. He, of course, supported the claims of his son, as did also the majority of the other princes. But the Parthians, in league with many from the adjacent provinces in the North, strove to overturn the throne, suffering severe reverses in the field, losing in a single engagement, according to the reckless estimates of antiquity, about eleven thousand men. Thus much may be gathered from the inscriptions on the Rock of Behistun.

We thus arrive at the existence of Parthia as a division of the Empire of the Persians. After their suppression and punishment for revolt in the interest of Smerdis, the Parthians accepted Darius, and remained loyal to the succeeding Achæmenian kings. Their history becomes the common history of Persia down to the time when the complication, existing for more than a century between the Great Kings and the commonwealths of Greece, was cut by the sword of Alexander.

It is not needed in this connection to review the work of the Conqueror as he passed from Europe into Asia and traversed that continent through a distance of two thousand miles. Persia was now in the ascendant over all the East. Her dominion was accepted by many peoples and nations. Alexander, by the acuteness of his genius, perceived that his objective point was the court of Babylon, that the overthrow of Darius would be a universal victory, and that the subject nations would, with the master stroke, fall asunder and accept himself instead.

The event was as the expectation. Arbela ended all. With the life of Darius went out the dynasty and the whole cycle of ideas which it represented. True, Alexander deemed it important to continue his expeditions north, south, and east, until the subject nations were taught by ocular demonstration the futility of opposition to his will. One of his campaigns was directed against Bactria. In the prosecution of this, passing from the Tigris to the hostile country, he must needs traverse Parthia. But it does not appear that the Parthians had refused to accept the results of Arbela. Little, perhaps nothing, is said of any resistance on their part to the Conqueror's progress. To them, as to so many others, the event was but a change of masters.

The reader of the present age is many times astonished at the rapid and spectacular transformations of antiquity—this for the reason that he does not apprehend the civil and social condition of the ancient world. The Persian Empire, for instance, was not closely enough bound in its parts to constitute a Staatenbund, much less a consolidated union of nations. Each satrap was a feudatory, holding loosely under his suzerain. To strike down the latter was to break the nexus of the whole, and to deliver the provinces back to local independence. But the condition was such that the establishment of another nexus was easy, if not necessary.

Thus for two centuries we contemplate Parthia as a satrapy of the Persian Empire, and then behold its transference to the Son of Philip and his successors. It is sufficient to note in this connection that the country of Parthia proper was, under the Persian kings, at first associated for governmental purposes with Chorasmia, Sogdiana, and Arya. In the second stage Parthia was bound up with Hyrcania into a single province, and it is probable that the two were held as one at the time of the conquest of the Empire by the Macedonians. By that event Parthia, without other serious changes, was subjected to a Greek administration under officers appointed at the first by Alexander himself, and afterwards by his successors.

In order to follow the history of the country we are obliged in this place to enter again that distracted epoch which succeeded the death of Alexander the Great. We shall hereafter, when we come to narrate with particularity the partition of the world among the Greeks, describe the wars, the tumults, and the transformations by which the quadripartite division of Asia, Eastern Europe, and South-eastern Africa was effected. For the present it is sufficient to present an outline of that part of the field with which the destinies of Parthia are concerned. The four Powers to which we have just referred—as determined by war and compromise among the successors of Alexander—were Macedonia, Egypt, Asia Minor, and

Syria. The last named was misnamed; for the dominion so-called had, at first, but little respect to Syria Proper. On the contrary, it included all of the Alexandrian conquests in South-western Asia. It was by far the most extensive and important part of what had been taken by the Son of Philip; and it is with this so-called Kingdom of Syria that we are here concerned.

Considered from the style of dynasty established over it, the same was known as the Kingdom of the SELEUCIDÆ, so named from Seleucus Nicator, founder of the line of sovereigns referred to. As for Seleucus, he had not at the division of the Empire received a portion, but he was at length appointed satrap of Babylon, and from that position soon rose to preëminence in the East. In this relation he served under Antigonus, to whom the Kingdom of Syria had been given. But having aroused the jealousy of the king, Seleucus fled to Egypt, and put himself for a season under the protection of Ptolemy. At length the Greek monarchs of the three western divisions of the Macedonian Empire banded against the king of Syria. When this confederacy was formed, Seleucus first recovered his office as satrap of Babylon, and in that relation joined the Western monarchs with his forces on the field of Ipsus. It was by the battle so named that the subsequent destinies of Western Asia were for a long time determined. A new division, being a modification of that already in existence, was made by the victors, and Seleucus received for his part all of the Asiatic conquests which had been achieved by Alexander, with the exception of Lower Syria and Asia Minor.

No sooner had this result been achieved than Seleucus was able to look around and view with complacency his dominions. These included Upper Syria, Mesopotamia, parts of Cappadocia and Phrygia, Assyria, Media, Babylonia, Susiana, Persia Proper, Carmania, Sagartia, Hyrcania, *Parthia*, Bactria, Sogdiana, Arya, Zarangia, Arachosia, Sacastana, Gedrosia, and the hither parts of India—and to these was presently added Armenia on the west. The Imperial realms here defined included a million two hundred thousand square miles, from which, after deducting the waste and desert parts, about eight hundred thousand square miles of valuable and fertile territory remained.

It now devolved upon Seleucus to choose his capital and organize his Government. In this connection the cities of Mesopotamia, famous in ancient story, would naturally suggest themselves. There on the Lower Euphrates was Babylon, which Alexander himself had preferred as the seat of his dominion. On the Upper Tigris was Nineveh, or the site of Nineveh, equally well situated for a capital of empire. For a short season the former was chosen; but Seleucus for some reason wearied of Babylon, and determined to build a capital of his own. For this he chose a site about forty miles distant to the north-east, on the right bank of the Tigris, and there laid the foundations of Seleucia, which soon sprang into importance and grandeur as the seat of central interest for all of South-western Asia.

Here then was founded the Kingdom of the Seleucidæ, under auspices favorable to permanence and grandeur. But it was not long until Seleucus made the fatal mistake of abandoning the position which he had so well chosen in Mesopotamia and seeking another and less favorable capital in the far south-west, on the border of his Empire.

It would appear that Alexander and his successors fought against the law of nature in their attempt to carry European institutions backwards across Asia. There is certainly an irresistible cosmic force which draws men to the West. The historical drama constantly shifts its scene in the direction of the setting sun. There was doubtless a time in the past when Babylon itself was a young and progressive municipality in the West. A large part of ancient history is concerned with the processes and vicissitudes by which the central energies of human power were transferred from Babylon to Rome, just as a large part of Modern History has covered the details of the movement from Rome to London. There is something in nature, there is something in man, there is much in the correlations of man and nature, which propel civilization in the direction indicated and makes it almost impossible

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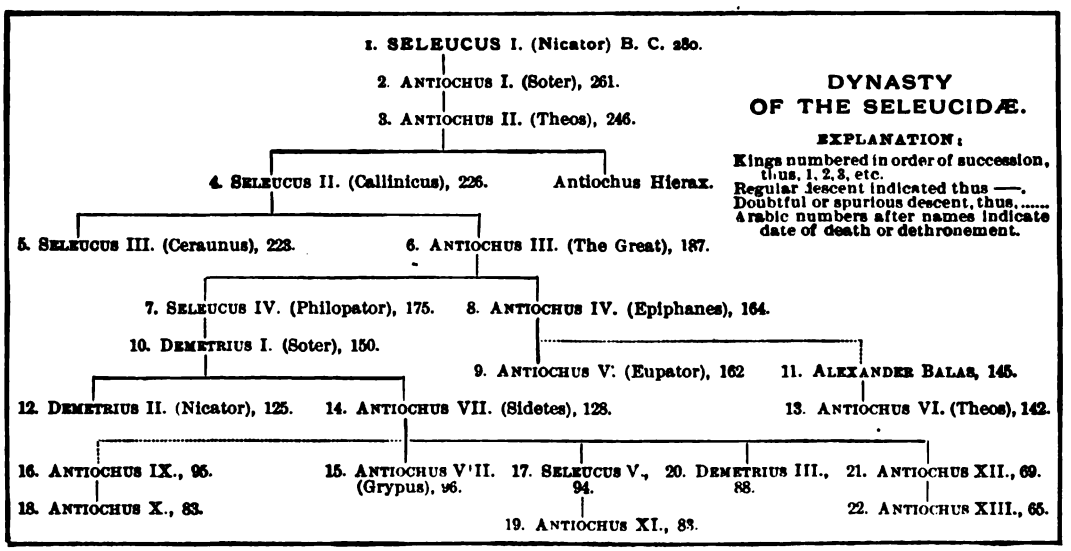
to replant eastward the aggressive societies and institutions of the West.

The men of the Alexandrian epoch found it so. Perhaps no valid reason could have been assigned by Seleucus for yielding his vantage on the banks of the Tigris and transferring his seat of government to Antioch, in the valley of the Orontes. Whatever may have been his motive, the policy was fatal to the maintenance of a European dominion in Southwestern Asia. The king, by the removal, reassociated himself with the contentious and contending successors of Alexander in Macedonia, Egypt, and Asia Minor. He was at once reïnvolved with them in those wars which were destined to continue until what time the must sooner or later lose him all his Eastern provinces. Alexander had, against the prejudices of his own countrymen, adopted the policy of uniting the ruling classes and native princes of the East with himself. He had encouraged to a great extent among his officers and men the formation of marriage unions and other alliances by which the conquered peoples might come to regard their interests as identified with those of the Conqueror. He had deliberately called to his aid the princes of the subject Asiatic provinces, reäppointed them to their places, conferred honors upon them, and made them secure under his authority. While this policy had left behind much bitterness on the part of the adventurers who had


1. SELEUCUS I. (Nicator) B. C. 280.
2. ANTIOCHUS I. (Soter), 261.
3. ANTIOCHUS II. (Theos), 246.
4. SELEUCUS II. (Callinicus), 226.
Antiochus Hierax.
5. SELEUCUS III. (Ceraunus), 223.
6. ANTIOCHUS III. (The Great), 187.
7. SELEUCUS IV. (Philopator), 175.
8. ANTIOCHUS IV. (Epiphanes), 164.
10. DEMETRIUS I. (Soter), 150.
9. ANTIOCHUS V. (Eupator), 162
11. ALEXANDER BALAS, 145.
12. DEMETRIUS II. (Nicator), 125.
14. ANTIOCHUS VII. (Sidetes), 128.
13. ANTIOCHUS VI. (Theos), 142.
16. ANTIOCHUS IX., 95.
15. ANTIOCHUS VIII. (Grypus), 96.
17. SELEUCUS V., 94.
20. DEMETRIUS III., 88.
21. ANTIOCHUS XII., 69.
18. ANTIOCHUS X., 83.
19. ANTIOCHUS XI., 83.
22. ANTIOCHUS XIII., 65.
DYNASTY OF THE SELEUCIDÆ.
EXPLANATION:
Kings numbered in order of succession, thus, 1, 2, 3, etc.
Regular descent indicated thus —.
Doubtful or spurious descent, thus, ...
Arabic numbers after names indicate date of death or dethronement.

Mistress of the World should, from her seat on the Tiber, stretch out her scepter over all.

But we are here concerned rather with the actual course of events than with speculative views concerning them. The withdrawal of the capital of the East from Seleucia to Antioch left the Asiatic nations without the visible presence of the master. It left them to the suggestion of conspiracy, revolt, and independence. Worst of all, it left them to the domination of corrupt satraps, who resumed the manners and methods of the past, extorting from the subject peoples whatever might be gained by excess and tyranny.

For Seleucus had in the meantime committed another administrative error, which hoped to revel in all the spoils of conquest—while it had in many instances alienated the home Government of Macedonia—it had nevertheless secured to the Conqueror the regards, the confidence, and even the affection of peoples and races whom he could not otherwise have bound sincerely to his interests.

At the first his successors followed in a feeble and uncertain way the policy of their great leader. But their weakness and cupidity soon prevailed, and they began to promote Europeans in the place of native princes. This method was fatally adopted by Seleucus on his withdrawal to Antioch. He set Greeks in authority over the Asiatics, as if to say that his security in the East depended upon Euro-

pean rather than Asiatic support. It may be doubted whether his governors themselves, chosen henceforth from the small European contingent, were more loyal, more devoted to the king than would have been the native noblemen of Asia; and as for the subject peoples, all sympathy between themselves and their rulers must at once have been destroyed.

We thus see the head of the Syrian kingdom of the Greeks establishing himself in leisure and pleasure at Antioch, little regarding the concerns of the East. The Mesopotamian countries and all beyond were left in charge of their European governors. Seleucus himself gave his attention to Western affairs, interfering in Egypt and Asia Minor, according to the caprice of the day. Seleucus reigned until the year B. C. 280 when he was assassinated at Lysimachia. He left his crown to his son Antiochus I., called Soter, second of the Seleucid princes. The latter pursued the same policy with his father, and became involved in the same troubles. The administration of the East was continued in the same manner, was attended with the same dangers, and that of the West was distracted with like quarrels and battles, until, after the space of nineteen years, Antiochus Soter was slain by a Gaul, in a conflict near Ephesus.

The crown next descended to Antiochus II., surnamed Theos, who, during the ten years of his reign, was engaged in almost constant warfare with Asia Minor and Egypt. The history of all three reigns, covering the period from the accession of Seleucus, in B. C. 301, to the death of Antiochus Theos, in B. C. 250, has a common feature—that of neglect of the East and needless complication with the affairs of the West.

During this period, the old kingdom of Parthia, reduced for centuries to subordination, first to Persia, afterwards to the successors of Alexander, lay in comparative obscurity. But the time had now arrived for an emergence by rebellion into light and life and action. At this epoch the actual history of Parthia as an independent power begins. All the rest is, as it were, the setting of the picture. From this time forth the movement, first toward freedom, and then to greatness, is rapid and direct.

The administration of Antiochus the Divine was of precisely the kind to furnish the opportunity and the suggestion of a revolt. About six years before the conclusion of his reign, Theodotus, or Diodotos, the Greek satrap of Bactria, perceived in the distance between himself and Antioch and in the effeminate administration of the king the hint of successful rebellion. He accordingly at once threw off the yoke, gave himself the title of *Basileus*, and entered upon an independent administration. Thus did Bactria lead the way in renouncing the sovereignty which had been accepted since the Alexandrian conquest. It appears that Antiochus had neither the ambition nor the courage to chastise his rebellious governor, and Theodotus was accordingly permitted to take his undisturbed course to independence.

The example was contagious. The neighboring satrapies felt the shock of the Bactrian

COIN OF THEODOTUS.

revolution, and soon adopted a similar method. Parthia was the first to follow in the wake of the neighboring revolt. In this country, however, the movement took on a wholly different character. In Bactria the revolution could hardly be said to be national. The Greek governor was simply permitted to raise himself to the rank and title of king; but in Parthia the revolt had a different source. Here the spring of action was a national sentiment against the rule of the Europeans in any form. The feeling was against the Greek Dynasty *in toto*, so that instead of following the lead of the governor in making himself independent of Antiochus, the Parthians rose against the governor himself, and the whole system of foreign domination which he represented.

The circumstances and details of the revolt have been differently told by different authors. It has been narrated that a certain ARSACES—

which name the leader of the revolution certainly bore—appeared out of Bactria, from which country he had fled from the jealousy of Theodotus. Coming into Parthia, he induced the people to accept him for their leader in a rebellion against their own Greek governor. Successful in this, he was made king of Parthia and founder of the dynasty. Another account says that Pherecles, satrap of Parthia under Antiochus the Divine, offered an insult to Arsaces, who, according to this tradition, was a native Parthian, son of Phriapites, and that he—Arsaces—and his brother Tiridates drew five of their fellow-noblemen into a conspiracy and slew the satrap. This done, the people were easily induced to rise and throw off the foreign domination altogether. They then chose Arsaces for their king. Still another account makes Arsaces to have been a Scythian of the nation called the Dahæ, who came by hostile invasion into Parthia, overthrew the Greek government, and made their leader king. It is sufficient for historical purposes to say that the rebellion against the Greeks was led by a patriot named Arsaces, who was perhaps of Scythian extraction; that the foreign officers were expelled; that the pride of the nation was gratified by the success of the insurrection; and that its leader was made king of Parthia, with the title of ARSACES I. These events are assigned to the year B. C. 256, but some have moved the event forward to 250, being the year of the death of Antiochus Theos.

COIN OF ARSACES I.

The accession of Arsaces and the founding of the Parthian monarchy were not wholly peaceful. The expulsion of the Greeks from the country—the suppression of their influence—was not of easy accomplishment. The Greek capital, Hecatompylos, built by Alexander, had been peopled in the first place by Macedonians and other men out of the West. These and their descendants would, out of the nature of things, resist the revolution and strive to regain their ascendency. The party of the late government, great or small, would follow the counter-revolution. Arsaces, therefore, had to make battle with the malcontents, and to put them down by force of arms. Nor was he able to give perfect quiet to the kingdom before his death, which came by a spear-thrust in the side, in the year B. C. 247.

The crown descended to TIRIDATES, brother of the late king. But he took for his title Arsaces II., and is generally referred to by that name. It appears that the name *Arsaces* was at once adopted as the designative title of the Dynasty, which is thus known in history as the ARSACIDÆ. It remained for the second king of this great house to promote, establish, and defend the kingdom planted in weakness and uncertainty by his brother. His reign lasted for over thirty years, during which time Arsaces II. fully justified the expectations of his country. The boundaries of Parthia were enlarged. It was fortunate for the monarchy that so strong a character was at its head, for scarcely was the king established in power until all of his energies and resources were needed to protect the nation from conquest. It was at this juncture, namely, in B. C. 245, that Ptolemy Euergetes, of Egypt, warlike and ambitious, led an army into Asia, entered the kingdom of Syria, overthrew Seleucus Callinicus in battle, captured Antioch, and then made an expedition into Mesopotamia—as though he would recover the whole Empire of Alexander. The major countries in his path yielded with little resistance. Babylonia, Susiana, Assyria, Persia, and Media went down successively before the invader. Indeed, the restoration of the Asiatic dominion was complete, with the exception of Bactria and Parthia.

Tiridates thus found his kingdom threatened by a new conqueror, between whom and himself an unequal contest must be waged—on his own side for existence, and on the side of Ptolemy for Empire. But destiny had prepared a different event. While Ptolemy was engaged in rapidly reconstructing the power which Seleucus had permitted to go to wreck, his attention was suddenly recalled to Egypt. In that country a rebellion had broken out, and the king was obliged to hurry back to Africa, lest his losses at home might be greater than his gains in Asia. The great

campaign which he had made with so much apparent success became, historically considered, a campaign and nothing more. The countries which he had conquered regained their independence with the withdrawal of the Egyptian army, and South-western Asia resumed her former aspect.

But the lesson of the expedition was not lost on Tiridates. He could but observe with what ease the countries through which Ptolemy had passed had been subdued. The wings of his own ambition fluttered at the prospect. Why should not a Parthian king make successful warfare in the neighboring countries? He accordingly organized an army, marched into Hyrcania, overran the district, and added it to his own dominion. This was an act of direct aggression on the kingdom of Syria. Hyrcania was a satrapy of that Power, and Seleucus Callinicus must either yield ignobly to the aggression, or else fight for the recovery of the province. Thus were prepared the antecedents of a conflict between the Parthians on the one side and the Graeco-Asiatic kings on the other, which was destined to be transmitted to the Romans, and by them perpetuated for several centuries.

For the moment, however, Callinicus was unable to attempt the punishment of his enemy. The king of Syria had a brother, Antiochus Hierax, who troubled his dominions in the West and paralyzed the powers of the kingdom. But at length an accommodation was reached between the two brothers, and Callinicus found himself ready for his eastward expedition. It appears that by this time the Parthian cavalry had diffused a wholesome fear of itself throughout South-western Asia. At all events the Syrian king deemed it prudent to approach the enemy with the support of an ally. He accordingly drew the king of Bactria into a league with himself against Parthia—a thing most unnatural and most dangerous to the latter kingdom.

Callinicus then advanced to the conflict, which Tiridates was not well able to enter. Courage was not wanting, but an adequate force to contend with the combined armies of Syria and Bactria. The Parthian king found it necessary to recede before the enemy, and to fall back into Scythia, beyond the Oxus. Parthia was penetrated by the foe, and it appeared superficially that the independence of the country was at an end. At this juncture, however, Theodotus died, and the crown descended to his son, more patriotic than his father. Tiridates succeeded in detaching the new king of Bactria from the unnatural league, and brought him into alliance with himself. The situation was so changed by this event that Tiridates was able to meet Callinicus in the field. A decisive battle was fought, in which the Syrian army was routed and driven from the country.

This success was perhaps the critical event in the early history of the Parthian Kingdom. It was regarded by the people as the definitive achievement of independence. The day of the battle became the day of the nation, and was commemorated after the manner which peoples in all ages have adopted in preserving and transmitting the story of their liberty. Nor was the effect of the victory to be disregarded as it respected the other countries of Asia. The final delivery of Parthia by successful battle from the dominion of the Greek Kingdom of Syria was an example to the other Asiatic States. It showed that the successors of Alexander, in so far from being invincible, might be repelled by valor and constrained by overthrow to confine themselves to the borders of the Western seas. Henceforth the discerning eye might discover the unmistakable symptoms of the coming of a native Asiatic Empire in the place of the vast dominion established by the Son of Philip.

The critical events to which we have just referred happened about the year 237 B. C. The purposes of Callinicus after his defeat and expulsion may not be well discovered; but the difficulties in his own dominions were so great as to confine his attention henceforth to his home affairs. Hierax was again an insurgent, and with him the king had to decide the issue by force. Parthia, delivered from apprehension, was left to pursue her own course, and Tiridates employed the remainder of his reign, full twenty years in duration, in consolidating and establishing the kingdom.

By this time the Parthians had departed in

the national evolution, from the ancient barbaric type, and had learned to avail themselves of approved methods of defense. Instead of trusting henceforth to the wild and audacious charges of their cavalry, they began to fortify the country against the possible recurrence of such invasions as that of Callinicus. Several positions of importance were converted into fortifications and intrusted to regular garrisons for defense. The king is himself represented by Justin and other authors as active in these enterprises. Among other works which he promoted was the building of a new capital. We may well believe that Hecatompylos was not wholly a pleasant seat of government for the first of the Arsacid princes. The place had been built, as we have said, by Alexander. It was a Greek city. It represented the European domination—a thing which had now become hateful to the nation. The tradition of such a city was in the way of a peaceful native administration. The suggestions of the place were against the existing order, and the king sought to escape from these surroundings and to transfer his government to the new city of Dara, which he founded and promoted as the Parthian capital.

COIN OF ARTABANUS I.

For some reason, however, the enterprise was not wholly successful. It is not certain that Tiridates ever succeeded in removing the Government to his new city. If so, the transfer was of brief duration. We may conjecture that the Hecatompylonians, seeing the Government about to slip away from them, found it to their interest to become more loyal to the existing order—less Greek and more Parthian in their sympathies. It is possible, moreover, that there was an equalization of forces. Even the Saxons of England were not wholly proof against the refinement, the culture, the graceful speech and manners of the Normans. Though they succeeded in absorbing their conquerors, they were themselves, in a measure, absorbed in turn. The Greeks were the Normans of Parthia. With them were culture, artistic taste, elegant speech, fancy and wit. These things are lovable, even in our enemies. Our hatred of the foreigner yields somewhat to our liking for his ways. Women more than men are subject to this infection. Probably the Parthian princesses and ladies of high rank had found in the Greek residents of Hecatompylos a more graceful and charming folk than their own brothers and lovers. At any rate the Greek attraction finally prevailed over the repelling forces, and Hecatompylos was retained as the future capital of Parthia.

It was about the year 214 B. C. that Tiridates, second of the Arsacidæ, died, leaving the crown to his son ARTABANUS I. He also was an *Arsaces*, being the third of that title. By this time Seleucus Callinicus had also rendered his account, transmitting his throne to Antiochus III., his second son. The latter inherited the local troubles with which the reign of his father had been distracted. Scarcely had he taken the crown when Achæus, one of his governors, rose in rebellion, and civil war again ensued in Syria.

By this time the Parthian kings had learned to be observant of the course of affairs in the West and the South-west, and to take advantage of any circumstance which might favor the development of their own kingdom. Artabanus I. was of this mood. Perceiving that the king of Syria had as much as he could attend to in his home dominions, the Parthian planned the conquest of Media. This ancient State, now fallen into decay, lay open to invasion, and Artabanus undertook its conquest. He carried a vigorous campaign into the country, where he seems to have been received with little hostility. He made his way to Ecbatana, took the city, completed the conquest, and added Media to his dominion. For the moment it appeared that a great kingdom or Empire was about to be projected, under the auspices of the Arsacidæ.

But Antiochus III. could not well permit his great dependencies in the East to be torn away without an effort for their recovery. As soon as he could bring affairs to quiet in Upper Syria, he gathered a large army and set out for Mesopotamia. The event showed that the king was not incapable of great ambition. Passing rapidly beyond the Tigris

and the Zagros mountains, he entered Media, recovered the capital, restored the Syrian authority, and then moved forward against Parthia itself. In doing so, he had to traverse the Iranian desert, a region almost wholly without water. Upon this circumstance Artabanus relied to keep his enemy at bay. He kept detachments of cavalry in the desert in front of the Syrian army, with orders to fill up or poison the wells upon which Antiochus must depend for water. But the progress of the latter could not be stayed. Hyrcania was entered and its cities taken. The Parthians now confronted the enemy, but were unable to check his course. They adopted the expedient, however, of keeping out of his way until what time the Syrian king, wearied with campaigning against a foe whom he could not strike down, consented to peace.

It is thought that Artabanus agreed to cooperate with the Syrian monarch in a war with Bactria. That country, the reader will remember, had also become independent. Euthydemus, the king, had shown himself able to defend the country. Nor did he shrink from the invasion of his dominions by Antiochus. It is probable that Artabanus was secretly in sympathy with the Bactrian king in the struggle that ensued with Antiochus. At any rate, Euthydemus was able to uphold the fortunes of his country until the Syrian king, seeing the impossibility of restoring the Eastern Empire by war, withdrew from the country, leaving both Parthia and Bactria to follow their own course of development. It would seem that Antiochus scarcely regarded himself as a victor in his Eastern wars, for the conditions of peace which he conceded to those who had opposed him were such as follow a drawn battle rather than a conquest.

It would appear, however, that Parthia was considerably weakened by the struggle through which she had passed. The history of the kingdom becomes for many years obscure. The remainder of the reign of Artabanus was of little importance in a national sense. At least the ancient historians have passed over the closing years of the third century B. C., as though they were marked by no stirring event from the side of Parthia. In Bactria the case was somewhat different. We may infer that this kingdom was not so severely punished in the war with Syria as was Parthia. At any rate, the remaining years of Euthydemus, and of his son and successor Demetrius, were marked in Bactrian history as a period of advancement and prosperity. Historically considered, the forces were at this time balancing between the two kingdoms as to which should finally take the lead in the restoration of the Asiatic Empire under native princes.

We may, therefore, say no more in this connection than that the subsequent reign of his son, named PRIAPATIUS, otherwise Arsaces IV., was more obscure than that of his predecessor. The single fact remains that he occupied the throne from B. C. 196 to 181. The epoch was in one sense important, for it was at this time that the period in history assigned to the successors of Alexander the Great comes to a close. In the year 196 B. C. the Roman Proconsul, Titus Quinctius Flaminius, made his appearance at the Isthmian games, at Corinth, and proclaimed the protectorate of the Western Republic over Greece. It was the end of Hellenic independence, and the beginning of the end of all those divisions of political power which had been established in the East by the Macedonians. Since it was from the latter that Parthia had most to fear, and since these were now to be completely overwhelmed by Rome, we may note the time as the crisis from which the Parthian Empire and ascendency were to begin. It thus happened that in the obscurity of the reign of Priapatius the antecedents were preparing of a great dominion for his successors.

We may here make a brief pause and digression for the purpose of noting the condition of affairs in the extreme eastern part of the former dominions of Alexander the Great. If the Macedonian governors had not been able to hold their authority over the Asiatics in the meridian of Parthia and Bactria, what shall we say of their inability in the Indus valley? There lay the great region of the Punjaub, cut off from all dictation of the West and from all support by the Europeans. The will of the Conqueror had indeed been sufficient to hold the countries of Afghanistan and the

Upper Indus in subjection, but not so the will of his successors.

The native Indian princes, like those of the Great Plateau, soon revolted, and regained their independence. Among these a king called Chandragupta arose and established a dominion in the Punjaub fit to be called a kingdom. Already at the close of the fourth century B. C., when Seleucus Nicator made his great expedition into the East, he found Chandragupta reigning over the countries between the two great rivers of India. Nor was it deemed advisable by the Macedonians to enter into a war with him for the recovery of the country. The Indian prince was left in authority under treaty stipulations defining the extent of the Indian Kingdom. Nearly a century went by, and Antiochus III. crossed Asia on his expedition to the East. But on approaching India he also made a pause, and renewed with the successors of Chandragupta the treaty of Seleucus. Amicable relations were established between the Syrian Kingdom and the far East, and gifts were interchanged between the monarchs in the manner of ancient royalty.

But these things were displeasing to the king of Bactria. It was little agreeable to his feelings to be overspanned by so wide an arch as that between Antioch and the Punjaub. Euthydemus determined to break this far-reaching connection between the East and the West, and himself made war on India. After him Demetrius, the succeeding Bactrian king, took up the cause. He carried a victorious army into Afghanistan, and afterwards into India. On the River Hydaspes he built the city Euthymedeia, long known in ancient geography. He established his supremacy in the countries dominated by his arms; and the historian of the day might well have been on tiptoe to witness the further expansion of the Bactrian power into a universal Asiatic Empire.

This period, however, covered the climax. The Bactrian ascendency could reach no higher. It is believed that the success of the kingdom in the times of Euthydemus and Demetrius was correlated with the unsuccess of Parthia at the same epoch. It may have been that the Parthian kings of the period were unable to do more than to maintain the *status in quo* until what time the nation might revive from the effects of the Syrian war, and until Bactrian ambition should run its course.

We may pass at once from the unknown reign of Arsaces IV. to that of his son and successor PHRAATES I., otherwise Arsaces V. The latter acceded to power in the year B. C. 181, and his coming marked an epoch of revival in the fortunes of the kingdom. It were difficult to say how much under such circumstances is due, on the one hand, to the renewal of spirit among the people, and how much on the other should be attributed to the ambition of the monarch. Neither is available to any great extent without the aid of the other. Of a certainty an ancient king could not of himself make a successful war. Equally certain it is that an ancient people, accustomed to the forms of monarchy, used to receive mandates, and to look to its head for orders and inspiration, could not make successful war without the leadership of a competent king.

In this case we may assume that the people of Parthia had recovered from their period of depression, and that Phraates was ambitious of conquest. At all events he began his reign by making war on the Mardi. These were a mountain people living in the fastnesses of the Elburz range—a kind of Swiss of the sub-Caspian hills. Their position was almost inaccessible, and their spirit the spirit of mountaineers. We may perceive, moreover, that Phraates was much at fault in making his first war from his inability to use the Parthian cavalry in the country which he must penetrate. Nevertheless, the invasion of Mardia was successful. The tribe was conquered and combined with the Parthians.

The reader must bear in mind that the authority of the kings of Antioch still nominally extended to the borders of Parthia and Bactria. Any movement of the Parthian king, therefore, beyond the limits of his own territory was aggressive, and might well provoke the hostility of the Seleucid monarch. The latter at this time was Seleucus IV., surnamed Philopator. At the time of the conquest of the Mardians by Phraates, the Syrian

monarch was deeply involved with Rome. The shadow of that colossal power had already fallen on Greece and Egypt and the East. It was therefore out of the question for the king of Syria, whatever may have been his resentment, to proceed against the Parthian Kingdom in punishment for its aggression. Perhaps the loss of the country of the Mardi was not much regarded. The great Powers of Western Asia were nearly all established on the plain. The massive peoples which were wielded by the kings of Mesopotamia, of Asia Minor, and of Syria were adjusted to the lowlands, to the alluvial countries, and knew not how to deal with mountain tribes any more than the ostrich understands the eyrie of the eagle. So the Mardi were permitted to go to the conqueror.

Phraates, gratified with his success, soon made a bolder move. It would appear that he was able to consider geography in its relations with political development. It happened that his point of view took in easily one of the critical positions of Asia. The Greek writers have dwelt with much interest on the celebrated pass called the Caspian Gates. We have already had occasion, in the histories of Media and Persia, to refer to this famous gap left by nature between the mountains on the one hand and the desert on the other. In modern geography the place is designated as the Pass of Girduni Sudurrah. It is, in a word, the gateway between Armenia, Media, and Persia on the one side, and Turkistan, Khorassan, and Afghanistan on the other. Nor is there any other way by which convenient or even practicable passage between the East and the West can be found. The situation seems almost to have been contrived as a military expedient in the strategy of the Asiatic nations.

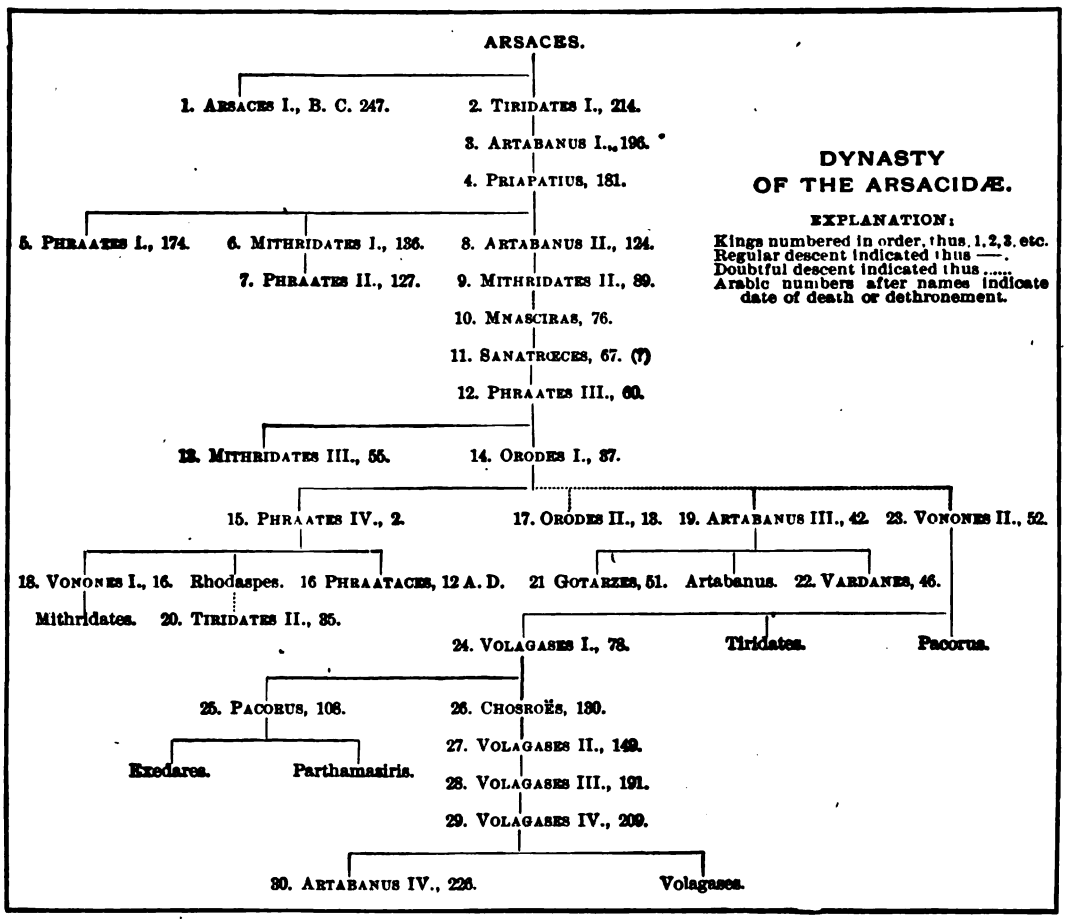
For here the Elburz mountains stretch their impassable barrier from the Caspian on the north to the desert regions of the Great Plateau on the south. At the termination of the range in this direction a spur projects to a considerable distance desertward, as if to extend the barrier beyond the natural limit. This mountain spur is broken from the principal range in such manner as to make human transit possible, but hardly practicable through the northern gap. At the lower extremity, however, where the offshoot abuts against the desert, stand the so-called Caspian Gates. The approach from either side seems to be absolutely barred by the mountain wall, but an army winding carefully along finds a narrow and unobstructed pass from Media Rhagiana on the west into the country of the ancient Sagartians on the east.

The importance of the Caspian Gates was well known to the ancients. Phraates perceived it. Having conquered the Mardi, he next turned his attention to Media Rhagiana; for, could he but succeed in conquering that country, he could gain possession of the western entrance to the Gates, and thus be able to bar henceforth the progress eastward of a Syrian army. The enterprise was one of hazard. It was undertaken by Phraates by transferring a part of the tribe of the Mardi into the open country westward from the Gates. The movement was successful. Phraates and his Parthians made their way through the pass and overran at least a portion of Media Rhagiana. The country west of the Gates was occupied by Parthian garrisons, and the strategic position was secured by Phraates. His reign, however, was not marked by any other important events. He wore the crown for only seven years, dying in B. C. 174.

Thus far the dynasty had been tolerably regular as to the descent of the crown. Tiridates is reckoned as the brother of the first Arsaces. The succession was then to the son and to the son's son. With the death of Phraates, however, the crown, in accordance with the purpose of the late king, was transmitted to his brother MITHRIDATES, as against the claims of his own son. It is probable that Mithridates had been a strong stay of the monarchy during the late reign. Phraates had honored himself with the title of Philadelphus, which would indicate his reliance upon his brother. If we are to judge by results the lateral transmission of the crown was beneficial in the highest degree, for we here come to the sudden rise of Parthia to the rank and character of an Empire.

More than any other name among Parthian

monarchs is that of Mithridates known to the peoples of the West. Those historians who are willing to allow to individual agency the general results which in the aggregate go by the name of History, have been wont to ascribe to Mithridates the place among his countrymen which the same writers assign, each in his respective sphere, to Alexander and Cæsar. More properly we may regard this



sixth representative of the Arsacid Dynasty, as the personal expression of the historical growth and purpose of the Parthian nation in his age. To him undoubtedly great abilities and great ambitions must be ascribed. His courage and strength were equally manifested in civil administration and in war. His reign, covering a period of thirty-seven years, is the most important and interesting of Parthian history. His career as a ruler was so extraordinary as to impress itself strongly upon the Greeks and Romans, whose historians have done tolerable justice to the builder of the Parthian Empire.

The conditions of success, however, had been prepared for Mithridates before his coming. The state of South-western Asia and Eastern Europe was now favorable, as it had not been before, to the construction of a great political power on the scene of what had been the Persian Empire. In the first place, the condition of Bactria invited the Parthians to achieve what the neighboring kingdom had not been able to accomplish—the consolidation of Asia. True, the Bactrian kings had, as we have seen, aspired to dominion. They had put out their hands by conquest over the East to the extent of grasping the country as far as Upper India. They had also crossed the Paro-

pamisus Mountain chain to the south, and had brought Arya, Sarangia, and Arachosia under their sway.

Eucratidas was now the king of Bactria. It appeared that during his reign the full political and military energies of his people had been put forth, and that victory and organization could go no further under the Dynasty of Euthydemus. A great difficulty existed in holding in one even the countries already brought into union. The student of history will not have failed to note among the ancient nations to what an extent a mountain barrier was a bar to the political unity of the peoples on the two sides of the chain. At the time of which we speak it was found difficult to hold together the nations lying on the south and the north of the Paropamisus. While Eucratidas was absorbed with the work of unifying the Southern races, the Northern races rose against him. There the Scythians made invasions, and the nomadic life reässerted itself in rebellion. Turning his attention to these distractions, the king soon found that the tribes of the South were not to be trusted in his absence. Thus between the two the energies of Eucratidas were wasted, and the kingdom vexed with disunion and war.

In the direction of Syria there was equal confusion. The great dominion established by Seleucus was gradually receding and contracting around Antioch. Even in those foreign parts still dependent upon the Seleucid king there was a loosing of the bands wherewith they were bound to the center. At this time Seleucus Philopator had become king and had involved himself in foreign wars. Now it was that Cœle-Syria became an object of contention between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. It was said that Antiochus the Great in giving his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy V., had promised to dower her with Cœle-Syria, which would have transferred the country to Egypt. The reigning Seleucus also found cause of quarrel and war with the Grecian section of the Alexandrian Empire and with Armenia, now in revolt against himself. Of a certainty a prince thus distracted by serious conflicts on three sides of his dominions was in no condition successfully to resist a determined movement for nationality among the Asiastics beyond the Tigris.

It thus happened that Mithridates found on his accession to power a fair field for his ambitions. He found Eucratidas, his Bactrian rival, involved in a war on the side of India. This circumstance seemed to invite the Parthian to his first aggression. He led an army into the adjacent parts of Bactria, and seized the two provinces of Turiûa and Aspionus. It is believed that by this, his first successful foreign campaign, the king of Parthia possessed himself of the regions out of which the Scythic elements of the Parthian nation had been derived. A source of disturbance was thus cut off, and its fountain drawn up by absorption. The king made himself secure in his conquest, and then wheeled about towards Media. We have seen how the latter province had already been partly taken away from the Syrian kings. But the latter still held their sway over Media Magna, and it was against this district that Mithridates now advanced.

COIN OF MITHRIDATES I.

The Syrian crown at this time had descended to Antiochus Eupator, a mere youth, incapable of affairs. The kingdom was in the hands of the regent Lysias; but his energies were for a while exhausted in a war with the Jews. At the court also he found opposition in the designs of a certain Philip, who, as the teacher of Eupator, claimed the right of controlling the boy-king's actions and policy. Civil war broke out until what time Philip was overthrown and slain. By this time Prince Demetrius, a cousin of Seleucus, laid claim to the throne in virtue of their common descent. Demetrius had been given by one of the former Seleucids as a hostage to Rome His youth was spent in the city of the Tiber. At length he made his escape from Italy, returned to Syria, headed a revolution against his cousin, and gained the throne.

It was during this confused and confusing condition of affairs that Mithridates threw his army upon the Medes. It was of little avail that the Syrian claim to the dominion of the

country was asserted. Even before the beginning of the invasion the Median tribes had become virtually independent. Indeed, the spirit of the people was a more serious obstacle to the ambitions of Mithridates than was the Syrian army. The details of the war with Media have not been preserved, but the general result was manifested in the transfer of Media Magna to the Parthian king. Perhaps the condition of the country thus subjugated was not greatly changed. It is believed that the same prince who had ruled under the king of Syria was retained in office by Mithridates as his representative among the subject people.

It was now evident that the king of Parthia was about to begin his career as Imperial conqueror. Such premonitions are always alarming to the surrounding peoples. Whoever plays the part of Alexander or Cæsar has a hard struggle at the outset. It is only after a period of victory, when the volume of conquest begins to roll on by its own momentum that the conqueror rides majestically on the rising wave. In the present instance the Hyrcanians took the alarm and set themselves against the Parthian king. The latter was now ready for any emergency, and made haste to advance against the hostile nation. The Hyrcanians sought to induce the Medes and the Mardian mountaineers to join them in the war, but their efforts were unavailing. Hyrcania was thus exposed without support to the wrath of Mithridates, who soon succeeded in reducing the province to submission. Thus in at least three directions the Parthian monarch stretched his cords and strengthened his stakes.

Scarcely had these movements been accomplished when a revolt broke out in Elymaïs. It is believed that the prince or king of this country had already made himself independent of the Syrian monarchy before his war with Mithridates. The latter now, for the first time, had opportunity to test his abilities as leader of an army in a truly foreign war. Thus far he had contended with nations whose dominions bordered on Parthia. Now he was obliged to lead his forces to a distance through a desert country, and meet the Elymæans in battle. But the event was auspicious to the Parthian, who overran Elymaïs and added it to his dominions. This successful campaign had thrown him between Persia and Babylonia. It was not likely that a victorious monarch would fail to make the most of his advantageous position. It appears that both the Persians and the Babylonians recognized the peril of their situation, and, perceiving the weakness of the ties by which they were bound to Antioch, deemed it prudent to cast in their lot with the conqueror. It thus happened that an extensive region in the South-west, including the Babylonian plain and the whole country eastward to the Carmanian desert, was added by a single campaign to what may now be called the Parthian Empire.

A period of more than twenty years was occupied by Mithridates in these wars. During the whole of this time the Syrian kings had been unable to disentangle themselves from their troubles in the West and give attention to the Eastern revolution. Nor had the king of Bactria found opportunity or disposition to attempt the recovery of what had been lost by conquest. The attention of Eucratidas had been constantly occupied with troubles and revolts on the side of India. He was thus obliged to assent to the loss of his western provinces to his rival. It would seem that the two kings, one pressing his way towards the Indus and the other towards the Babylonian plain, had come to amity and common purposes. But to a part of the Bactrian nation this concord with Parthia was distasteful. Prince Heliocles, son of the Bactrian monarch, represented the discontent, and sought to recover from Parthia the lost provinces. Believing that his father, the king, was in the way of his ambitions, he secured his taking off by violence, and seized the crown for himself. This he did with the evident purpose of going to war with Mithridates.

But the latter was on the alert. Perceiving the designs of his antagonist, the Parthian king turned into Bactria, quickly overthrew Heliocles, subverted the kingdom as to all its western provinces, and added them to his Empire. He then carried his victorious arms to the east, forcing the Bactrian monarch to

the mountains, and compelling him and his successors to accept henceforth the restricted region adjacent to Upper India. Thus between the years B. C. 163 and 140 were the widely extended countries of South-western Asia restored by revolt and war to Asiatic domination. The drama as a whole was virtually a restoration of the Persian Empire under the auspices of Parthia. Of the extent and character of the Imperial territories we have already given an account in the first chapter of the present Book. The Imperial domain now consisted of at least twelve provinces, and embraced an area but little less than five hundred thousand square miles in extent. It only remained for Mithridates to consolidate, organize, and defend the countries and nations that had fallen under his sway.

As for foreign violence, little was to be feared except from the side of the kingdom of Syria. Doubtless the reigning princes at Antioch had been deterred for nearly a quarter of a century from invading the East by the distractions of the West. Doubtless the news of Eastern rebellions, wars, conquests, and transformations smote dismally on the ears of the Syrian kings. Doubtless the loss of their revenues was to them a source of extreme annoyance and discomfort. But the struggles of the rulers around the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, from the Libyan desert to the Grecian archipelago, were sufficient to keep the Syrian monarchs from any effort at the recovery of their provinces. We have seen how the Regent Lysias and the teacher Philip contended for the mastery of the government and the young king of Antioch; how Demetrius Soter came from Rome and took the kingdom, and how Syria was obliged to contend with Egypt for the recovery of the territory given away with the first Cleopatra.

At length the crown of what remained of the Syrian monarchy descended to Demetrius II., a prince not without ambition. Reaching a lull in the Western wars he cast his yes to the East, and about the year 140 B. C. planned an expedition for the recovery of the fortunes of his house by war. Mithridates had not found everything comformable to his will in the administration of the new Empire. Among the conquered Bactrians there were mutterings, discontent, incipient rebellions. In all the countries which he had conquered were Greek cities planted either by Alexander himself or by his successors. These seats of power and influence had been built up by immigration from Europe. Thither had come thousands of Greeks and Macedonians from the European main-land, from the archipelago, and from Asia Minor. These had increased, multiplied, expanded. They had become the intellectual class throughout all South-western Asia. They had taken, in marriage or in illicit relations, the choice princesses of the Asiatics. There had thus appeared a large and influential Græco-Asiatic element in the population.

On the whole, the sympathies of this class were hostile to the Parthian ascendency. Through a hundred and seventy years the Seleucid kings had held sway, real or nominal, over the countries this side of India. Even the Asiatics, pure and simple, had become at last accustomed to the European and Syrian dominations. All of these conditions, sympathies, and tendencies had to be overcome and reversed by Mithridates before his Imperial rule could be accepted with cordiality by the diverse peoples whom he had conquered.

It thus came to pass that when Demetrius II. entered upon his war with Parthia, he was assisted somewhat by the social and political condition of Asia. He began his campaign under favorable auspices, making his way first into Babylonia, where he received the submission of the country. It will be understood by the reader that the peoples of these Asiatic dominions had little choice among their masters. They could therefore be delivered from hand to hand as merchandise of the mart. But Demetrius now began to encounter opposition. The Bactrian cavalry was in his front. He was able, however, to continue his advance and to win several battles beyond the Mesopotamian rivers. Elymaïs was overrun and temporarily recovered to the Syrian monarchy. Other districts were retaken, and Mithridates found himself receding before the superior forces of his enemy.

It appears that at this time, if we are to

trust the testimony of Justin, the Parthian king overreached his rival by proposing negotiations. While these were pending he attacked and routed the Syrian army, capturing Demetrius himself and leading him away into the interior. It seems that the whole expedition was blown away. Nor was Mithridates satisfied until he had taken the captured king from capital to capital through the provinces, showing him in the cities to the Græco-Asiatics as an example of what might be expected of those who dared to raise the arm against his Empire and himself.

Of a certainty the victory of Parthia was sufficiently decisive. So much, however, could hardly be said for the scheme of the king to unite his dynasty with that of Syria by intermarriage. It appears that he placed his royal prisoner, Demetrius, in a suitable residence in Hyrcania, where he maintained him in a style befitting his rank. He also sought to have his daughter given to the Syrian monarch, in order that the destinies of the two houses might be blended in the issue. But the project came to naught. Mithridates himself was now well advanced in years. He was exhausted by the vicissitudes and struggles of a reign more than thirty-seven years in duration. Soon after he had put his royal prisoner into Hyrcania for safe-keeping he sickened and died, in B. C. 136.

As we have said, the Parthian Empire had now reached its greatest territorial extent. It had become the great power of Western Asia. The Old Era was drawing to a close. Rome was making her way through an aristocratic republicanism towards Imperial world-wide dominion. Already by the time which we have now reached, namely, the last quarter of the second century B. C., the two rival powers of the world were the Roman Republic in the West and Parthia in the East. Before entering upon an account of the struggles between these two, covering several centuries about the beginning of our era, it may be of interest and instruction to note with some particularity the civil and political constitution of the Parthians.

The Government of the Empire was in its leading features an amplification and adaptation of the old Parthian monarchy to the new Imperial conditions. We have many such examples in history of an aspiring State imposing by war and diplomacy its civil institutions upon surrounding and subject peoples. In our own day we need go no further than the recent establishment of the German Empire, under the hegemony of Prussia, in illustration of this form of political development. Ancient Parthia—Parthia Proper—imposed herself and her half-barbaric forms of administration upon the nations whom she conquered, insomuch that the Empire was but an enlargement of institutions which had already existed for four or five centuries.

The first point to which we may refer in the explication of the political life of the Parthians, is the ascendency and strong counter-check of the Nobility on the Monarchy. The secular nobles were known as the Megistanes. The body so called might well be compared to the British House of Lords in embryo; that is, it was composed of two groups of notables, the one secular, and the other of a religious derivation. The former were called, in the Græco-Asiatic tongue, the *Sophoi*, that is, the "Wise," and the latter were the Magi, or degenerated Zoroastrian priesthood. These two branches of nobles combined to form one of the great councils by which the Parthian monarch was advised and, in at least a negative sense, directed. Besides the Megistanes there was another body, made up for the most part of members of the royal family, and known as the Domestic or Privy Council. In these arrangements we see the germs in the one of the modern Senate, and in the other of the modern Ministry, or Cabinet. After all, antiquity is not so far away!

The head of the Parthian monarchy was chosen by election of the Megistanes. The naming of the king required the concurrent voice of the Megistanes and the Domestic Council. But over and above these bodies was the constitution, in which heredity was recognized as the best law of choice. That is, the councils must choose *by law*, among the Arsacid princes, that one whom the constitution pointed to as the legitimate sovereign. This was generally the eldest son of the late

king; or in lieu of him, his next brother must be chosen. In default of sons, then the eldest surviving brother of the last monarch was the one designated for the crown; after him, his brother. In default of sons and brothers, then the choice rested on the uncle of the last ruler. In case the descent was thus diverted from the direct line, it could not be recovered by representatives of that line except in default of the younger branch whereon the crown now rested. Here again we discover an almost identical prototype of the English law of royal descent and inheritance.

In some instances the Parthian councils felt warranted in deposing their sovereign. Such proceeding, however, could but be revolutionary in character. Only an imbecile or idiot prince would permit himself, without an appeal to the sword, to be put aside by the act of the Megistanes. If James II. proves recreant to his trust—is no longer tolerable by the nation—we will put him aside. We will declare that he has himself abdicated the throne. We will call over William to be king in his stead. But of a certainty James and his adherents, not accepting our decision in the matter, will fight for the recovery of his crown and kingdom.

MAGUS MEGISTOS, OR HIGH PRIEST.

As to induction into office, we might have expected that the Magi, more particularly the Magus Megistos, or High Priest, would be called upon, or would assume the right, in virtue of his religious office and after the manner of his kind, to crown the sovereign and consecrate him to his royal duties. But this office, on the contrary, was reserved for the *Surena*, or Generalissimo of the army. He it was who was summoned on the day of coronation to put the crown upon his sovereign's head, a fact which fully establishes the strongly military character of the monarchy.

In common with the other great despotisms of the East, the Parthian Government was little changed from age to age. There was in it much of the same quality which made the laws of the Medes and Persians the synonym for unchangeableness in both ancient and modern times. As a rule the king governed according to his own judgment, executing his own decisions as though they were the decrees of a Parthian Congress. The reader must understand, however, that in all personal governments there are traditional checks and restraints upon the absolutism of the sovereign, the nature and force of which it is difficult for citizens of a modern republic or kingdom to understand. It appears that the nature of man is of itself a constitution whose provisions

are as well understood and as mandatory as the most formal articles in the written code of nations. Added to this unalterable principle of human nature, as shown in the unwritten restraints imposed by public opinion on the wills of barbaric kings and emperors, we must allow, in the case of Parthia, a restraining influence to the Magian priesthood. This body, whose numbers, in the latter times of the Empire, Gibbon has estimated at eighty thousand, could not fail to hold the rod of religious authority over the secular rulers. The sovereign himself, according as his nature was of a religious or a secular bias, must have felt in greater or less degree the common awe which the traditional representative of the ancient Iranian faith exercised over the minds and conduct of the common people.

In lieu of a representative Government, composed of delegates assembling from all parts at the capital—in lieu of a system of administration by which revenues were regularly gathered and authority dispensed from the central Government to its remotest members—the ancient provincial system, developed by the Achæmenian kings into the well-known satrapial form, was adopted and adhered to by the Parthian monarchs. The plan was, in brief, to regard the different provinces as a sort of quasi independencies, over each of which a satrap, or governor, was appointed by the king. There was, however, among the dependencies much inequality. Some of them consisted merely of the territories of a tribe only half emerged from the barbaric state. Others rose as high in the scale as regular kingdoms. There was a great difference in rank between the rulers of the latter and those of the former. The latter were in reality sub-kings, tributary monarchs to the great sovereign, who now took upon himself the title of King of Kings. Over the smaller and less important provinces mere satraps, holding office during the pleasure of the sovereign, were sent out. In such countries as Media, Persia, Armenia, and Babylonia, the viceroys were rulers of royal rank and hereditary rights. They had, of course, been obliged to accept a tributary relation to the Parthian Emperor; but beyond this the administration of the sub-kings was comparatively free from interference. There was, indeed, no general administration for the whole Empire, but a sort of feudalism, under which connections and subordinations were established on the principle of protection from above down, and of military service and tribute on the part of the subject States.

Besides the two kinds of government here referred to, namely, the common satrapy and the half-hereditary viceroyalty, there was still a third variety of political organization within the Imperial dominions. This was the free city. It was not within the desire, and probably not within the ability, of the Parthian monarchs to eradicate the Græco-Macedonian municipalities which for nearly two centuries had constituted the nests of Europeanism in Asia. These cities had for six generations lain like gems of culture on the immoderate breast of barbarism. In many respects they were *in* Asia, but not *of* it. In the natural order of things they became detached from the surrounding provinces. At length permanent relations were established between them and the monarchy. Many of the cities paid tribute directly to the royal treasury, and were henceforth isolated from the local government of the satrapy.

It was the policy of the Empire not to disturb the provincial governments, of whatever kind they were, so long as the tribute was paid regularly and in full amount. The same principle held with the cities. The latter were allowed to proceed on their own lines of development. Thus, for instance, Seleucia grew to greatness. According to Pliny, the population waxed to six hundred thousand. Fortifications were built, and the place became a sort of Hamburg of antiquity. A municipal government was constituted after a plan that might well remind the reader of Mediæval Venice under the Doges. Of course the arts and learning of the Parthian Empire fled for covert to these Græco-Asiatic strongholds. Each became a sort of Constantinople of the desert, wherein Culture might peaceably examine her still beautiful features in the mirrors which had been preserved from the days of the Grecian ascendency.

To destroy such places was a thing not to

be considered by the Parthian kings; and so they were spared from violence. More than this, we may discover in the situation one of the prevailing habits of the Parthian court. We have already remarked upon the unfixedness as to the locality of the seat of government. Hecatompylos, the old capital of Parthia Proper, ceased to be regarded as the seat of the Empire. Ctesiphon was preferred, particularly for the winter months. The milder climate of the South and the half-Greek refinements of the metropolis wooed the kings and their courts out of the boisterous North. Not far away was the city of Vologesocerta, which likewise invited at certain seasons a visit from the sovereign. Then, with the return of summer, the Emperor and his retinue would hie away into Media and fix themselves for awhile at Ecbatana, the ancient capital. Sometimes the royal residence was at Tapé in Hyrcania; and during the spring months the monarch was wont to enjoy himself at Rhages, which had been one of the first conquests of Mithridates.

Could the observer look in once more upon this ancient Parthian court, as it was constituted in the days of the King of Kings, he should behold an assemblage of splendid persons clad in the style of the Orient, having the manners of a half-redeemed barbarism, and living in such luxurious habit as war and pride and appetite had engendered. The manner of the royal establishment was virtually the same as that of Assyria and Persia. The story of the kingly courts in those countries has already been recited. In general, there was about the king's residence much passion and treachery. It might almost appear that there is something climatic about the sentiments and customs of men, by which they are controlled in the different epochs of history and the different localities of the world. It might be difficult to conceive of the existence of the Hellenic democracy on the Plateau of Iran, and equally difficult to imagine the existence of a Persian or Parthian court in the Grecian Islands.

However this may be, we may assure ourselves that the Arsacid princes virtually revived and restored the style of government which had been practiced by the Achæmenian kings. But in one respect Parthia appears to have outdone the Orient in the way of barbaric grandeur. In time of war, not only the king, but his court, his Government, went into the field. The State was encamped with the army. An immense retinue of non-combatants followed in the wake of the expedition. A caravan of camels carried not only the military equipage, but a half cityful of articles belonging to peace. The king and his generals had no thought of leaving any gratification behind them. The wives and concubines of the monarch and his nobles were borne on litters from camp to camp, and all the means of revelry, all the accoutrements of pleasure, were bountifully supplied at every stage of the campaign. The royal society removed from place to place with only the cavalry interposed between itself and the enemy.

Conquest had now reached its territorial limit except on the side of Syria. In that direction the country was still open to invasion, and the motives were present for the renewal of war. Time and again the Græco-Syrian kings had thought to recover by the sword their Eastern provinces. Time and again the Parthians had succeeded in beating them back. Would not the latter now turn upon their foe, and drive an expedition in the direction of the Mediterranean? At this very time Demetrius, one of the Syrian kings, was a prisoner in the hands of the Parthians. We have seen how Mithridates confined him in regal state in Hyrcania, and how he sought to give him his daughter Rhodoguné in marriage. This project went over unfulfilled to PHRAATES II., who, in the year 136 B. C., succeeded his father on the throne.

Meanwhile the Syrian crown had, when the captivity of Demetrius was known, descended to Antiochus Sidetes, brother of the prisoner. It appears that as soon as Phraates came into power he began to consider the question of conquering Syria. He first sought to promote his purpose by an intrigue. Having succeeded in inducing the captive Demetrius to accept Rhodoguné as his wife, he attempted to enlist his prisoner in his cause. To this end he tempted him with the prospect of liberation,

hoping that as soon as Demetrius was free he would reclaim the Syrian throne. The captive was himself not innocent of such a dream, but he sought to consummate his hopes without the connivance of his brother-in-law. He accordingly made one or two unsuccessful efforts to escape, but was in each instance pursued, retaken, and brought back to captivity.

Meanwhile feelings of correlative antagonism were cherished by the Syrian king against the Parthians. He too bided his time. For the present Antiochus Sidetes was engaged in a war with the Jews. That rebellious people, under the leadership of the High Priest Simon, attempted to maintain the independence which had been conceded by Demetrius before his overthrow and captivity. In course of time the Jews, under the command of John Hyrcanus, who had succeeded his father Simon, were reduced to submission, and Antiochus found himself free to make war on the Parthians. He organized a powerful army, and set out in the direction of Babylonia. The king of Syria was still able, notwithstanding the losses of territory which his predecessors had met, to bring into the field a force greatly superior to that with which Phraates was able to confront him. The latter, however, came forth as far as Mesopotamia, and time and again joined battle with his antagonist. But in each engagement the victory remained with the Syrians, and the Parthian king was obliged to recede toward the central parts of his Empire.

The successes of the Syrians in the field were, in the next place, increased by the chronic disaffection of the Greek cities. The latter, together with many of the provinces on the side of Babylonia, rose and went over to Antiochus. It was the same old story of exchanging masters under the expediency of the hour. For the time, the western horizon seemed to bear nothing but thunder-clouds and tempest for Phraates; but he was undaunted, and set himself against further disaster. The time had now come for making the most of the captive Demetrius. The Parthian king set him at liberty, and he sped away like an arrow in the direction of Syria. It seems, however, that Antiochus did not learn of the flight of the dangerous bird, and so he pressed on, gaining additional advantages until what time winter set in, and the Syrian army was distributed into the cities for quarters.

The forces of the invasion were thus scattered over a wide extent of country; but the situation seemed one of security, and no uneasiness was felt by the king. On the side of Parthia, however, the case was viewed with a keener eye. The Parthian soldiers were able for winter service, being inured to the climate. The case, moreover, was well-nigh desperate, and Phraates determined to make the most of the opportunity. At first the different detachments of the Syrian army were well received in the cities to which they were sent; but military occupation is always a weariness of the flesh. The soldiers ate and drank and caroused, after the manner of their kind, until the citizens became heartily sick of having gone over to Antiochus.

As the winter wore on Phraates, learning of the universal discontent, sent trusted agents into all the cities where the Syrians were quartered, and contrived a great conspiracy. It was arranged that on a given day each city should rise against the soldiers and destroy them, while at the same time Phraates himself should make a rush for the headquarters of the Syrian army and overwhelm his enemy in battle. The plot was carried into execution. At the given time the citizens sprang to arms, surrounded the quarters of the soldiers, and slew and massacred until scarcely a Syrian was left to tell the story. The rumor of the insurrection flew to Antiochus, and he led forth his central division to the rescue, only to be met by Phraates in the field. In this struggle also the issue was against the Syrians. The Parthian cavalry swept everything before it, and Antiochus himself was slain. Almost the entire force, enormous as it was, was destroyed. According to Diodorus Siculus, three hundred thousand of the Syrians perished.

At all events the expedition was brought to utter ruin. Not a vestige of the invading force was left in the field. The triumph of Phraates was complete in every particular. He succeeded in capturing the son and

daughter of his adversary. The rapid restoration of Parthian authority ensued in all those parts of the country which had been overawed by the Syrians. The Parthian king made strenuous efforts to overtake and bring back Demetrius, hoping thus to secure all the Seleucid princes, and thus perhaps extinguish the Dynasty. But Demetrius had already fled beyond his reach, and could not be retaken.

As to the Syrian monarchy, an additional disaster was in waiting. No sooner was it known in Judæa that Antiochus was slain than the people rose against their masters and achieved their independence. The kings of Antioch, in the remaining sixty-three years of their power, were not able again to subdue the Jews, and Palestine remained an independency until what time the scepter of Rome was passed over the countries east of the Mediterranean.

Notwithstanding the great advantages of victory, Phraates found serious obstacles in his path. An enemy, not indeed so numerous, but far more terrible in war than the Syrians, rose on the opposite borders of the Empire. For several generations the Scythians had been in league with the Parthians. The old-time kinship and affinity of the two peoples have been more than once referred to in the preceding pages. Friendship existed, and common cause was frequently made by the Scyths with the people and king of Parthia. When Antiochus Sidetes, the late invader, came into Babylonia with his army, Phraates had solicited the aid of the Scythians, and a great body of the wild warriors had accepted the call. They set out on their march to join Phraates, but did not succeed in doing so until after the defeat and destruction of the Syrian army. Then, forsooth, Phraates had no further use for the Scyths or for their belated offers of aid. The Northern warriors then demanded their pay, and when this was refused they turned about and began to take by ravage in the districts of Parthia a liberal compensation for their alleged services.

Against these disturbers of his Empire Phraates was now obliged to turn about from the scene of his great victory. He had meanwhile forgiven the Greek cities, and had accepted from them a contingent of soldiers. He had also incorporated with his own army the prisoners whom he had taken from Antiochus. There was thus a considerable division of his forces made up of foreign elements. With this army he advanced against the Scyths, and came to battle. In the midst of the conflict the Greeks, on the Parthian side, treacherously rose against their general and went over to the Scythians. The Parthians, thus weakened by defection, were routed and swept from the field. Phraates himself was among the slain.

Had the Scythians possessed the instincts of conquest and reorganization, they might now, to all appearances, have gone forward to the overthrow of the Empire; but their method was simply the method of plunder. As for the Greeks, by whose aid the victory had been achieved, finding themselves suddenly liberated from military captivity, they broke up and rolled away towards the West, recovering as best they might their homes in Mesopotamia and Syria. The reign had been brief, extending only to the year B. C. 127. Nor might it be claimed that the Empire had, on the whole, been improved or strengthened by the agency and valor of the sixth of the Arsacid kings.

Phraates at the time of his death was still a young man. It appears that he left no son to succeed him. At any rate the crown was transferred to his uncle, ARTABANUS II. The latter, on coming to power, had to face the most serious responsibilities. The victorious Scythians and their Greek auxiliaries were still in the heart of Parthia. The native army had been almost destroyed. At the same time serious difficulties arose on the side of Babylonia. The satrap of this country had by his oppressions goaded the people into rebellion and war. But the clouded aspect of affairs soon gave place to a clearer sky. The Greeks, as we have seen, were more anxious to escape from the country than to continue the conflict. As for the Scythians, they in all ages were satisfied to stuff themselves with coarse food, to heat their blood with strong drinks, and to enjoy the ineffable sleep of barbarism. In the

present instance they plundered until they were satisfied, and then withdrew from the country, leaving the Parthians to reflect upon the costliness of refusing military pay to half-savages.

But while the Empire thus happily emerged from the dangerous local complications which had thickened around the last years of Phraates, another and more general peril came instead. This was the pressure which now began to be felt on the northern and eastern frontiers from the impact of human hordes bearing down out of the unknown regions beyond the Jaxartes. It were long to give an account of this extraordinary movement. In its origin, its character, and tendencies, it was one of the many irruptions of the barbaric upon the civilized or half-civilized races of men. The philosophy of such ethnic agitations is better understood as it respects the after-parts and results of the movements than with respect to their origin. The true beginning of the migration of tribes is a thing exceedingly hard to discover. After the warlike migrations have once been started, it is easy enough to note the process by which one barbarous nation after another is jostled from its seats until the last of the series is thrown across the borders of civilization. Again, we may say that the primal impulse is partly cosmic and partly ethnic in character. Time and again we have had occasion to remark upon the operation of those subtle forces in the natural world by which the human race is pressed westward through all continents and across all seas. Again, some races of men exhibit a peculiar aptitude for movements of this kind. It might be said with truth that they are most susceptible in their constitution to the influence of those far-reaching physical laws to which we have just referred.

But as we have said, the origin, the source, the fountain of the disturbance is hardly discoverable. The impulse rises far off in the regions of utter barbarism. Perhaps we might find it in the peculiar fecundity of certain tribes, in certain stages of their development. Such movements always precede the monogamic stage in the human evolution. At any rate, we may contemplate a certain spot in barbarism as overstocked with human beings, having the aggressive instinct and the nomadic character. Migration ensues, and the neighboring tribes are propelled in a direction a little to the south of west. This course is sought under the same influence which carries the colony of bees to its destination after leaving the parent hive. Europe has been many times troubled, and at least once extinguished, by a barbarian avalanche precipitated under the influences here described.

At the time of which we speak Asia, as well as Europe, began to feel the pressure. Bactria was the first to be smitten in the flank by the ram's-head of barbarism. About the time of the accession of Artabanus II. the Bactrian provinces were despoiled by barbarians of the nomadic order. A large part of the country was actually taken by tribes out of the North, breaking in as though they had been fired from a catapult. But Bactria was not the only part so threatened and assaulted. Arya was also invaded, and the Hyrcanian borders felt the pressure. All along the line of the Oxus, from its Caspian delta to its head-waters in the mountains of Upper India, the horde surged back and forth to find an entrance into the Empire.

The tribes were nameless and numberless. Their character has been depicted by Herodotus and Strabo. The nomadic habit was the dominant trait. The tribesmen had wagons and carts and the other apparatus peculiar to races of the woods and steppes; and the women and children of the race were borne in these vehicles from one station to another. The vocation was hunting, war, plunder. Domestic animals, especially cattle and horses, were carried along with the movement. The milk-drinking and cheese-eating appetite of the Scyths is known wherever Ancient History has been read. The social structure was based on polyandria, the sexual union being much the same in manner as that of the North American Indians.

The Asiatic barbarians were famous in their day for their skill in horsemanship and archery. Their weapons were the bow and arrow, the spear and the lance, the knife, or short sword,

and the battle-axe. These, as to their metallic parts, were of bronze. War was waged in the style of savages. Many usages which have been eliminated in civilized warfare prevailed. Arrows were poisoned with the venom of serpents or the diseased discharges of animal bodies. The enemy might be destroyed in any manner fatal to human life. Not only should the foe be slain, but his body might be cooked and eaten, as if it were the product of the chase. Nor did the cannibalism of the barbarians stop with devouring the fallen foe. Friends and kinsmen might be eaten if only the rules of the Scythian constitution should be observed. The young and middle-aged were not for food; but with the failure of the bodily powers in advanced life, the father or uncle of the polyandrian family was taken, killed by his household, and eaten with gratitude. Nor does it appear that the victims under such circumstances regarded their fate as a hardship. It was the usage of the nation. The hardship came in the form of disease which sometimes prevented the law from having its course in the final disposition of the body.

It was against such a race as this that Artabanus II. was called to contend. Nor was he slow to accept the challenge which came roaring out of the country of the Jaxartes. Soon after his accession to the throne he made successful warfare first upon those tribes that had already broken into his dominions. Bactria was expurgated of her savage contents, and the king then led his army victoriously into the enemy's country. The nation of the Tochari was turned back by battle, and the cohort of barbarism felt a sudden jar in its progress, at which the tribes were startled and stood still. But while Artabanus was thus carrying on successful warfare with the hostile races beyond his own borders, he was wounded in battle, and died from the injury. The event, while not at once decisive as to the general issue of the war, ended the campaign, and the Parthians receded from the barbarian countries. As for the crown, it was at once transferred to MITHRIDATES II., son and successor of the late king.

The volume of barbarism, like a stream of water, on meeting an obstacle turns to right or left, and makes its way into a devious channel. It appears that the war of Artabanus in the country north of the Oxus had had some such physical effect on the savage races. At least the new king found less difficulty than might have been anticipated in staying the further progress of the nomads. The beast of barbarism reared, plunged, and took another course. Mithridates II. had little trouble in re-establishing his northern frontier. The Scythic tribes were turned to the east, as if to make a detour around the Empire. The historical forces had been strong enough to deflect the cosmic forces, and to discharge the river of savagery far to the east in Afghanistan and Upper India. Bactria was wholly recovered by the king, and it was evident that the barbarians, finding a vent in another direction, would trouble him no further.

It was equally manifest that the kingdom of the Seleucidæ would not again send out an army to interfere with the natural course of events in the countries beyond the Euphrates. This condition of affairs invited the ambitious and capable Mithridates to enlarge his borders by war. Of the surrounding countries Armenia was at this time the most inviting. Thus far only a part—the smaller and less important part—of the country had been brought under the sway of the Parthian kings. Armenia Magna, as the country between the Euphrates and the Araxes was called by the Romans, still retained its independence. More properly, it had been included as a part of the kingdom of Syria, and had not been wrested therefrom by the Parthians. The country was of ancient renown. It had been an object of contention and conquest among the great conquerors. Alexander had taken it. Seleucus had received it. With the decline of the Syrian monarchy, Armenia attained a quasi independence. A branch of the House of Arsaces was recognized in authority over the Armenians. There had evidently been an uncertain war between the country and Parthia. The Prince Tigranes was, in his youth, a hostage at the Parthian court. Now, at length, the time had arrived when a great contention was to determine whether Armenia should be joined

in political fortunes with the East or the West—with the Empire having its seat beyond the Caspian, or with the Republic having its seat on the Tiber.

For Rome had now appeared. She had boldly put forth her claim to the mastery of Europe. One after another of the adjacent countries had yielded to her sway. Greece, in 196 B. C., had become a Roman province. Just fifty years later Carthage was finally obliterated. The countries of the Western and Central Mediterranean presented no further obstacle, and Roman ambition must pass over into Asia Minor and the still remoter East. As far back as B. C. 190, Antiochus III., of Syria, was ruinously routed on the field of Magnesia. He was obliged to accept what terms soever the conqueror imposed. He was compelled to relinquish his authority over a large part of his kingdom; to give up his elephants of war; to surrender—or promise to surrender—the fugitive Hannibal of great renown; and to give his own son as a hostage for the fulfillment of the treaty. Thus did the Roman Republic succeed in obtaining a foothold in Asia, and it was the custom of that stern Power not to relinquish what had once been acquired. As soon should we expect the She-wolf nurse of the Twin Robbers to give up her prey through the possession of sentiment.

SULLA.

We pause not in this connection to narrate the progress of events among the States of Asia Minor whereby Rome and Parthia were first brought into relations. At the first the connection brought friendship rather than antipathy. Mithridates V., king of Pontus, had suddenly risen to great power, and about the close of the second and the beginning of the first century B. C. had constructed an Empire out of a petty kingdom in Asia Minor. He had made himself and his armies a terror in all the countries west of Armenia. A part of that kingdom was added to his dominions. Half of Paphlagonia was snatched away. Galatia was overrun and conquered, and Cappadocia was threatened by his ambitions.

The king of Armenia was at this time that Tigranes whom we have mentioned above. He seems to have favored the project of the king of Pontus, and to have made an alliance, political and matrimonial, with him. Now it was, namely, in the year B. C. 92, that the Roman Proconsul Sulla was sent with an army into Asia to thwart the Pontine monarch in his plans. It happened that the Eastern army with whom the Consul first came to battle was the Armenian contingent. This force was routed by the Romans, and Cappadocia was saved from the grip of Mithridates V. As for Tigranes, king of Armenia, he had in the meantime renounced any ties of friendship or political relation with the king of Parthia. He had gone to war with that personage, and had succeeded for the time in making himself master of so much of Armenia as had belonged for nearly a century to the Parthian Empire. Thus did Tigranes become an enemy to both Mithridates II. and Rome.

He who is the enemy of your enemy is, in politics and war, your friend. It thus came to pass that an amicable relation was established between the Parthian king and the Roman Proconsul in Asia. The former sent to the latter as his ambassador a nobleman named Orobazus, bearing a proposal for a league between Parthia and Rome. The well-known policy of the Roman Senate of reserving all treaty rights to itself, forbade Sulla to do more than to entertain the Parthian ambassador and to encourage by friendliness the overtures made by his master. But before any positive treaty could be effected between the leading powers of Europe and Asia, the ambitious and aggressive Tigranes was able to work much havoc along the western borders of the Parthian Empire. A war of nearly ten years' duration, extending to the year B. C. 83, ensued, in the course of which the Armenian king was almost uniformly victorious. He made successful campaigns into Upper Mesopotamia, and tore away no inconsiderable territory from the dominions of Mithridates. He established and consolidated his kingdom on an independent basis. For a

season he exercised sovereignty without the slightest obeisance in the direction of Antioch or Ctesiphon or Rome.

Mithridates II. went down to death six years before the conclusion of his war with the Armenians, in which his unsuccess was so conspicuous as to cast some shadow on his title of "The Great," won in his youth by victorious battle with the Scyths. His reign covered a period of about thirty-five years, and was principally noted in its latter days on account of the contact and first relations of the Empire which he ruled with the Roman Republic.

It happens in the history of most nations that after what may be called the first Imperial epoch a period of distraction and decadence ensues. Success to a nation brings the same trials and dangers which it brings to the local society or to the individual. The exercise of power and the means of gratification entail perils and plant pitfalls, and rarely do a people escape the one or avoid the other. There now supervened in the history of the Parthian Empire such a time of retrogression and confusion. This was manifested, first of all, on the dynastic side. The reader will have observed with what regularity the crown had thus far passed to the ninth prince of the Arsacidæ. No break or serious disturbance had occurred in the Dynasty. But a time now fell out when obscurity came to the royal house, and it is not known positively who was the next king in order after Mithridates II. It is believed, however, that a prince of little reputation, bearing the name of MNASCIRAS, probably the son of the late monarch, came to the throne. Neither from the Behistun inscriptions nor from the Parthian coins are we able to know definitely the course of the succession. The events of the years extending from B. C. 89 to B. C. 76 are so obscure that one may almost pass the gap as though it were not.

In the latter part of this period, however, the light returns sufficiently to enable us to see men as trees walking. In B. C. 76 a new king, named SANATRŒCES, whom we may consider as the eleventh of the Dynasty, came to the throne, and the administration, whatever it had been, was quickened into greater activity. It is known that the new monarch was already an octogenarian on his coming to power. It is also known that he had been for a great time a prisoner, or possibly a hostage, among the Scythians; and it is believed that his accession to the throne of the Empire was effected by the aid of a body of Scythian warriors who returned with him in his old age from the country beyond the Oxus. From this circumstance we get a glimpse of a condition which had evidently come to pass in the Empire. Civil war had ensued, and part of the people had no doubt joined in the recall of Sanatrœces. At any rate, the aged hero gained the crown, and did something before his death to restore the fortunes of his country.

The period at which we have here arrived might almost be designated in Asiatic history as the age of the Armenian ascendency. We have seen above with what vigor Tigranes, the Armenian king, son-in-law of Mithridates II., had followed his ambitions and added to his conquests. By him Armenia Minor was conquered and absorbed. From Parthia the great and valuable province of Northern Mesopotamia was taken. Adiabêné also, including, according to the current organization, the ancient Assyria, was in like manner torn from the Empire by conquest. Parts of Media were added to the Armenian dominion, insomuch that Tigranes sent the dread of his name into all the surrounding countries.

While thus by successful war Armenia was advancing to the rank of a first-class Power in South-western Asia, Rome was strengthening her position and advancing her interests in all the hither parts of the continent. The army of the Republic and that of Tigranes were face to face, and it was only a question of time when one or the other must go to the wall. The king of Parthia had cause to fear each and both of these tremendous forces as they rose on his western borders. He was in doubt whether it were best for him to take his chances by allying himself with the Armenians, and thus recognizing the violence by which Tigranes had taken away a portion of the Parthian Empire, or to make a union with Rome. In his embarrassment he dealt doubly with the question, holding out to each party the promise and expectation of favor.

It is said that Lucullus, the Roman Consul, now engaged in war with Tigranes, was so much offended at the uncertain course taken by the Parthian king, that he contemplated the abandonment of the Armenian war until what time he should make an expedition beyond the Tigris and teach Sanatrœces the folly of temporizing with Rome. This, however, was not done. Tigranes at length fell back before the Roman legions, and Parthia was delivered from her peril. The reign of Sanatrœces ended with his life, about the year 67 B. C., when he was succeeded by his son, PHRAATES III.

Pompey the Great had now come into Asia, and with him the new king was obliged to deal. The Roman was engaged in a war with Pontus, but he solicited and gained the friendship of Phraates, to whom in return he

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pledged the restoration of the provinces which had been conquered by the Armenians. By this means the Parthian king was induced to make an alliance with Rome. At the same time he became deeply involved with Armenia. In that country civil dissention had come as a paralysis to Tigranes. His son, bearing his own name, had entered into a conspiracy and become leader of a rebellion against the throne. The insurrection soon came to naught, and the young Tigranes fled to the court of Parthia for refuge and protection. Phraates espoused his cause, and being under promise to Pompey to prevent Armenia from joining Pontus in the field, the Parthian king now fulfilled his promise by taking up the quarrel of the refugee prince and marching into Armenia to support him against his father.

For the time this movement was successful. The elder Tigranes fled to the mountains for safety, and the younger was proclaimed king. But on the withdrawal of Phraates into his own dominions, the tide turned, and the rebellious prince was defeated in battle and obliged to save himself by flight. By this time, however, the Romans had ended the war with Pontus, and turned with crushing force against Armenia. Tigranes was obliged to yield to the Proconsul and to accept his arbitration in the affairs of the East. It thus happened that by battle and diplomacy Pompey managed with Roman energy and skill to gain a place from which he was able to balance up Armenia and Parthia, the one against the other in such a manner as to make the hostility of either of little account as it respected his own purposes in the country. It has been conjectured that the Roman contemplated an immediate war on Parthia as the stronger and more dangerous of the two Powers with which he must ultimately contend. But he was deterred from such an undertaking, and chose to employ craft and talent rather than the sword in holding his position as arbiter of Western Asia.

Meanwhile in Parthia a deplorable civil condition followed in the wake of Imperial greatness. The time had arrived when the polygami system and the personal passions of the royal princes brought in the age of conspiracy and murder in the king's house. A condition supervened not unlike that which has disgraced the history of modern times in the courts of Persia and Turkey. Phraates III. was not permitted to end his reign in the order of nature. His two sons, Mithridates and Orodes, formed a plot which reached as high as their father's life. He was assassinated by them. The elder of the two took the throne in B. C. 60, and, like other murderers, found it desirable to obliterate the memory of his crime with the glory of foreign war.

The complaint which he had made against his father was the alliance of the latter with the Romans, and the tameness with which the late king had permitted himself to be robbed by the Armenians under the arbitration of the Roman Proconsul. MITHRIDATES III therefore proceeded to make war on the Armenians for

the recovery of Northern Mesopotamia. He thus became a breaker of the peace. He was enabled, however, to gain his object, and the ancient boundary of the Parthian Empire on the north-west was restored. The Armenians were no longer able to meet the Parthians in battle. As for the king, arrogance came with conquest. His home administration at once revealed the essentially criminal character of Mithridates. He became jealous of his brother—brother by blood and brother in crime—and drove him from the country. Other measures of like character followed, and it was not long until the Megistanes, whipped into courage by the king's folly and wickedness, rose to the height of action and hurled Mithridates from the throne.

Orodes was now recalled from banishment and raised to power. As for the deposed monarch, he and his party were placated by conferring on him the governorship of Media; but his conduct made it impossible for Orodes to tolerate him longer, and he was expelled. He hereupon went over to the Romans, where he besought the Proconsul Gabinius, successor of Pompey, to aid him in recovering the Parthian throne. The Roman was about to accept his overture, and would doubtless have begun war on Parthia had not a dynastic complication arisen in Egypt which promised a fairer field and a richer reward for Roman interference. Mithridates was thus left to digest his choler in exile. Presently, however, he sought reconciliation with his brother, returned to Parthia, threw himself upon the mercy of the king, and was affectionately beheaded for his pains.

This event ended for the time the civil dissensions of the Empire, and enabled Orodes I. to exercise undisputed sway over the nation. The attention of the Romans had now been drawn away from the Mesopotamian border, and the Parthian king found opportunity to foster his ambitions and develop his plans. His abilities were of a large order. He aspired to become a great conqueror, like the early Arsacid kings. His fame grew, and he was presently able to gain sundry advantages in the way of detaching the petty princes on his western border from their allegiance to Rome. But the time had arrived when in the order of events, if not in the necessity of things, the growing animosity of the Republic and Parthia must be referred to the decision of battle.

Marcus Lucinius Crassus, member of the first Triumvirate of Rome, had now been sent out as Proconsul of Syria. He came to his province with the intention of a Parthian war. Arriving in the year B. C. 54, he deliberately formed his plans for the invasion of the Empire. He organized a great expedition, crossed the Euphrates, and began to overrun the country. Several of the Greek cities yielded without a conflict. Zenodotium, however, resisted his progress, but at length consented to receive a Roman garrison. This was admitted, and Crassus continued his campaign. But the people of the city rose on the garrison, and put them to the sword. The Proconsul then turned about, destroyed the city, and sold the inhabitants into slavery.

Thus far the Parthians had kept at a distance. With the coming of winter there had been no serious conflict. On the whole, the Parthians had cause to congratulate themselves on the small progress and success of the Roman army. It appears that Orodes came to the conclusion that little was to be feared from the invasion. He conceived a contempt for Crassus, and sent to him an embassy with such proposals as might well have aroused the animosity of an Oriental, to say nothing of a Roman Proconsul. Among other things Orodes referred with mock sympathy to the *advanced age* of Crassus, and promised in certain contingencies to deal with him as he would with a dotard. The interview might well be made the subject of a drama. Crassus enraged, but still restraining himself, replied that *on his arrival at Seleucia* he would send an answer to the Parthian king. Hereupon Vagises, ambassador of Orodes, tapped the palm of one of his hands with the forefinger of the other, and exclaimed: "O Crassus, the hair will grow here before ever you come to Seleucia!" Such were the amenities of the winter season, when neither party could verify in the field the threats and hatreds of the council.

For the Roman commander the situation had become embarrassing. He had projected

his campaign centrally across Northern Mesopotamia. In different parts of the country he had been obliged to establish garrisons of occupation. Each remove reduced the number of his effective forces. Added to this was a certain want of knowledge of the enemy's country, which confused the Proconsul in determining his line of advance. It was finally determined that the route of the expedition should be through Upper Mesopotamia. This country had already been entered by the army in the preceding summer, but had been given up for the winter. This course would bring the expedition into supporting distance of Armenia, and it was expected that the Romans would receive from that country a large accession of force.

Meanwhile Orodes had organized his army and thrown it forward to confront the enemy. His forces were under the immediate command of the Surena or Generalissimo, who in this instance—though his name has not been preserved—appears to have been a military captain of the greatest ability and courage. For many years he had been one of the principal stays of the Empire. Through his agency, indeed, Orodes had been confirmed on the throne. He had already recovered several important places, including the rebellious city of Seleucia. The army now sent out to meet the Romans under his command was composed entirely of cavalry. It had perhaps been foreseen that it was by this branch of the service that victory might be expected rather than from the Parthian infantry. The latter was no match for the Roman legionaries, whose valor had spread a wholesome fear throughout the civilized world.

The winter quarters of the Roman army had been on the Upper Euphrates. Here lay the province of Osrhœne, whose prince, Abgarus, though in alliance with the Romans, was secretly in sympathy and communication with the Parthians. He was intrusted by Crassus with a command of light-horse, and was assigned to the duty of scouring the country in advance of the army, and of determining the route across Mesopotamia. It has been asserted by Plutarch and others that this treacherous guide purposely led Crassus and his forces into a desert region, where water could not be found, and where every advantage would be on the side of the Parthians in battle. Perhaps the inhospitable character of the region was exaggerated. But at any rate the advance now lay through an open country little obstructed by rivers or hills, and well fitted for the operations of the Parthian cavalry. Of the character of the latter and its method of giving battle, sufficient has already been said in a former chapter.

At the same time of the advance of Crassus the Parthian army was brought to the front, and the two forces rapidly approached with every element of determination and passion on both sides. At length the conflict was precipitated on the River Belik, about midway between Carrhæ and Ichnæ. It was the 6th of May, in the year B. C. 54. The Parthian army, under the command of the Surena, was carefully stationed in half-concealment behind some woods and low hills in the neighborhood. The cavalrymen had been ordered to cover their arms with their garments or to keep them behind the horses, so that the blaze of weaponry might not flash upon the Romans in its appalling splendor until the moment of battle.

Crassus came on from the west. His army of about forty thousand men was composed mostly of Roman legions or heavy infantry. To this was attached a body of cavalry which the Proconsul had brought with him out of Gaul, where it had been organized by Julius Cæsar. All of a sudden the Parthian drums sounded the battle-note. Then the cavalry flashed into line, and the charge began. The Parthian lines came on at full gallop, but stopped short of the legions by the space of a bow-shot. Then began such a tempest of arrows as the invincible legionaries had never before been obliged to face. No armor could resist the stroke of these fiery missiles. The air was darkened by the discharge. The Romans could not come at their enemy. When they advanced the Parthians receded to a distance, firing backwards with the same facility as when they halted and faced the enemy.

Such battle had never before been known in the Mesopotamian plains. The Romans

strove with all their might to close with their elusive foe, but the latter pursued the established tactics, and could not be reached. At length the son of Crassus, bearing his father's name and commanding the Roman cavalry, put himself at the head of a squadron of six thousand men, and charged furiously upon the Parthians. The latter fell back from the onset as if in panic. The young Crassus pressed on after the enemy further and further, until he was out of sight, when all of a sudden the Parthian cavalry recovered itself, threw forward the wings, and completely surrounded the Romans. The latter fought with desperation. The Gallic horsemen dismounted, rushed among the enemy's horses, seized the spears, and stabbed the steeds to death. But no valor could avail. The Roman advance under

ROMAN SOLDIERS GOING INTO BATTLE.

the young Crassus was beaten down almost to a man. The commander himself was slain, and his head stuck on a pike.

Again the drums sounded, and the charge on the main body under the Proconsul was renewed. The head of Crassus' son was borne aloft in full view of the Romans, who now, shattered by the battle, began to recede from the field. The wounded were abandoned, and on the following morning were slain by the Parthians. Crassus the elder, with the remnant, succeeded in making his way to Carrhæ, where he stationed himself behind the ramparts and found a momentary security. It was hoped that he could hold his position until what time his ally Artavasdes, king of Armenia, could come to his relief. Perhaps this might have been done, as the Parthians were incompetent as besiegers. Nevertheless, they hovered around Carrhæ, and cut off the city from supplies.

It appears, however, that the Parthian commander preferred to take no risks as to the future. Nothing short of the complete discomfiture of Crassus and his remaining forces would satisfy. To this end the Surena now stooped to treachery. He plotted to inveigle the Proconsul into his power. It may not be certainly known whether he contemplated the destruction of his enemy's life by perfidy, but it is in the nature of bad faith to bring a more criminal catastrophe than was imagined at the outset. The Surena, whatever may have been his intentions, opened negotiations with the pent-up Romans. He rode with unstrung bow and outstretched hand into the open space before the city, and called out for Crassus to come forth and confer with him on the conditions of peace. The wily Parthian had prepared for the occasion by letting slip certain of the Roman prisoners, into whose ears false information had first been dropped to the effect that the Parthians were anxious for peace and friendship with the Romans, and that Crassus might easily come to an agreement with the Parthian king. These insinuations had been carried by the returning prisoners into Carrhæ, and the Roman mind was abused to the extent of accepting them as true.

Crassus, however, already beyond his sixtieth year, and well informed as to the disposition and character of the Asiatics, was slow to take the bait. But the legionaries were now thoroughly demoralized, and the

General was urged to avail himself of the opportunity. He accordingly went forth into the plain, where a conference was held between him and the Surena. Terms of peace were discussed and agreed upon; but the Parthian insisted that the stipulations should be reduced to writing, and to this end the Romans present were induced to mount Parthian horses and to ride off towards the Surena's tent. Scarcely, however, had they started, when Crassus and his friends, suspecting treachery, reined up the horses, and refused to proceed. The difficulty grew hot, and one of the Parthians was cut down with the sword. Weapons were drawn, and all of the Romans, including Crassus, were slain on the spot. Thus, far off on the Mesopotamian plain, was the rich Triumvir, who, with Pompey the Great and Julius Cæsar, had recently divided the world as a family inheritance, done to death on the treacherous sword of a Parthian warrior.

When the Roman soldiers in Carrhæ learned the fate of their General, they were in despair. Most of them surrendered to the Parthians. Some escaped. Altogether ten thousand were taken prisoners. These were transferred into the heart of the Parthian Empire, colonized and absorbed by intermarriage. Of the whole Roman army, numbering forty thousand, only about one-fourth succeeded in reaching places of safety. The disaster was overwhelming—wanting nothing to complete its magnitude or horror.

The immediate result of this, the first war of the Romans with the Asiatic Empire, was to restore to the latter all the provinces which she had possessed on the side of Mesopotamia. The Euphrates again became the western boundary. As for Armenia, that State also passed to the Parthian dominion. It will be remembered that Crassus, to the hour of his death, expected the Armenian king, Artavasdes, to come to his assistance; but that monarch had decided to accept a position subordinate to the King of Kings. At the very time that the Surena was bringing down the Roman eagles on the Upper Euphrates, Orodes himself was making an expedition into Armenia. This it was that determined the *friendship* of the king of that country. It was expedient for him to become friendly. In order to cement the ties thus formed, the Parthian king took for his son Pacorus the daughter of the Armenian monarch in marriage. Nor may we pass from the event without noting the manners of the age. While the festival was on at the Armenian capital—while Orodes and Artavasdes were witnessing the performance of one of the tragedies of Euripides—the news came of the overthrow and death of Crassus and the destruction of his army. As usual, in such cases, the head of the Roman Proconsul was brought along to confirm the intelligence. It happened that in the play the Greek actor had to represent a similar slaughter by the display of a mock-head on his thyrsus. By one of the happy inspirations of barbarism, he substituted *the real head* of Crassus! Doubtless the sensation in the royal boxes was sufficient.

In another direction, the drama was continued in the desert. The Surena, at enmity with Seleucia for her half-treachery to the Parthian cause, marched thither, to bring the citizens to a renewal of loyalty. He chose to spread the report in this direction that Crassus was not killed, but was a prisoner in the hands of the conqueror. To give verisimilitude to his fiction, he selected a Roman, like Crassus in personal appearance, clad him in the proconsular insignia, mounted him on a horse, compelled him to play his part, and sent after him into Seleucia a troop of mockers and abandoned women. Going into Seleucia himself, the Surena divulged to the Senate the horrid immoralities which he had discovered in the literature of the Roman camp—a revelation sufficiently disgusting to the people who were unable to recognize in themselves a society fully as abominable and more perfidious in its manners than that of the Romans.

By this time, however, the Surena had reached the limit of his career. His success in the field had been so great as to make him, according to the judgment of Orodes, a person dangerous to the Empire. The great captain was accordingly seized and put to death. The command of the army was transferred to Osaces, who was presently sent to the Syrian frontier, to assist the prince Pacorus in a

desultory campaign, upon which he had entered in that quarter.

As a matter of fact, Syria and Asia Minor were at this time in a condition to invite conquest; not indeed that the Romans were unable to defend their possessions in the East, but the political distractions of Italy were such as to prevent unity of action. The destruction of the tripartite agreement—known as the Triumvirate—by the death of Crassus, had left the world to two masters, Cæsar and Pompey, the one a representative of the new democracy of Rome, and the other the representative of that ancient aristocratic order by which the Republic had been dominated for many centuries. At this time the orator Cicero was Proconsul of Cilicia, and knowing full well the condition of affairs in Asia, he hardly overstated the fact to the Senate when he declared that Rome had not a friend on that continent. The expedition of Pacorus made its way in the direction of Antioch, and gained possession of several important places. But after this the Parthians divided in different directions, one division being carried against Palestine, and the other led among the kingdoms of Asia Minor. If the invaders had had the skill to take cities as well as to win battles in the field, it would appear that they might have destroyed the Roman dominion in all the countries east of the Ægean.

But the Parthians did not avail themselves of the situation. At length, in B. C. 49, Pompey, being then hard pressed by Cæsar, made overtures to Orodes, with a view to securing his aid against his rival. The Parthian king offered to go to the rescue on condition that Pompey would deliver what remained of the kingdom of Syria to him. But the proposal was rejected. Soon afterwards came the battle of Pharsalia, in which the fortunes of Pompey and the aristocratic party were utterly swept away. At one time he seriously contemplated putting himself under the powerful protection of Orodes. But he was induced to change his mind, and presently took flight for Egypt.

Cæsar, now completely victorious, was fully informed of the condition of affairs in the East. He had known the disposition of Orodes to give aid to Pompey. In his own mind the vision of a Parthian conquest had for some years been settling into a purpose. But he was not yet ready to undertake so vast an enterprise. After Pharsalia, he returned to Rome, and took up the tremendous work of reorganizing society on a new Imperial plan, with himself at the head. It was not until B. C. 44 that he found himself sufficiently free from the tremendous complications of the West to turn his attention to the conquest of Parthia. Like the other designs of that greatest man of antiquity, the Parthian war took shape, and the first cohorts of the Roman army were thrown into Greece, preparatory to the great Asiatic campaign. Nor may we well pass over this historical hypothesis without conjecturing the result had Cæsar been permitted to pursue his purpose. Certain it is that the Parthians would have felt the stroke of the strongest hand which was ever laid upon the Empire. Crassus and Pompey and Trajan and Severus combined could hardly have represented the skill, the energy, the persistency, the adroitness in diplomacy and war of that matchless Julius, whose end was now at hand. His destiny had at last overtaken him. The Optimate Conspirators gathered around him in the Senate House, and stabbed him to death, on the Ides of March, in the very spring when the Parthian expedition was to be undertaken.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Thus had Orodes the good fortune to witness the destruction of all three of the preeminent Romans who had constituted the first Triumvirate. The Surena had chopped off the head of Crassus in the desert. A bloody assassin had cut down Pompey on the shore of Egypt. The daggers of Brutus and Cassius

had dispatched Cæsar in the Senate House. Parthia for the time was freed from all apprehension on the side of Rome.

The reader of history will readily recall the dreadful civil war which followed the murder of Julius. He will remember the struggle of the conspirators to undo the great historical movement of the age. He will once more follow the complication which was presently cut with the sword of the victor at Philippi. In this civil war the Parthians bore a minor part. Bodies of Parthian horsemen were on several occasions found in the army of Brutus and Cassius. Marcus Antonius, who had received the East for his portion of the world, entered into relations with Orodes, and sought to join the king with himself in his war with Brutus and Cassius.

A CHARGE OF PARTHIAN CAVALRY.

But the Parthian preferred the other course. At length the battle of Philippi was fought, and the ancient aristocracy of Rome was hacked to pieces under the bloody swords of the avengers of Cæsar. Now it was that the three masters of the world were able to divide their inheritance. The Second Triumvirate was formed. Octavianus established himself in Italy. Lepidus became the cipher which made the other two figures significant. Antonius found food for his passions in Egypt.

It appears that Parthia postponed her struggle with Rome to an inauspicious occasion. Pacorus now availed himself of the help of the treacherous Labienus, recently envoy of Brutus and Cassius at the Parthian court, and organized an army for the conquest of the country as far as Antioch. They rushed to the field, and Saxa, the Roman governor of Syria, was defeated in battle. Labienus and Pacorus, having taken Antioch, led their forces, the one in the direction of Palestine, and the other into Asia Minor. Both were for awhile successful. Hyrcanus, the king of Jerusalem, was expelled, and his rival Antigonus set in his place under the authority of the Parthian Prince. Labienus carried his victorious arms through Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria. Thus, by the close of the year 40 B. C., nearly the whole of Asia Minor was overrun.

It was in the nature of Antonius to make love and war by turns. He was equally fierce in the chamber and the field. Learning of the condition of affairs in the East, he was roused to wrath, and resolved to teach the Asiatics a lesson not to be forgotten. In 39 B. C. he sent forward his lieutenant Ventidius with orders to crush Labienus and the Parthians. On his arrival in Asia, Labienus was taken by surprise, and was obliged to recede before his enemy. Pacorus was called to the rescue, but both together failed to stay the progress of the Romans. Labienus was defeated, pursued, taken, and put to death. The Parthians receded into Northern Syria, and attempted to hold the pass of Mount Amanus, but Ventidius succeeded in securing the place, and in driving the Parthians into Mesopotamia.

Pacorus, however, was not willing to relinquish the countries which he had so easily conquered. In the following year he renewed the war by crossing the Euphrates, and engaging in battle with the Romans. It was in the nature of that soldiery to learn from the enemy. The method of Parthian warfare had now become well understood. Ventidius had prepared for the emergency. It was no longer the story of Crassus on the Belik. When the Parthians came on to battle, they found the Romans well posted to receive them. On

rushing to the charge, and before reaching their favorite distance of a bow-shot, they were assailed by the slingers of Labienus, and a shower of singing stones rained upon them, knocking them dead from their horses. The battle raged furiously, but at length the Parthians gave way. Pacorus himself was slain. The Romans succeeded in securing the bridge across the Euphrates, and the retreat was cut off. The Parthian army was scattered in all directions. The authority of Orodes in the West and South-west was completely and finally obliterated. All the Western provinces were recovered by the Romans. The Euphrates once again became the boundary between the two Empires; but from either side the hostile powers glared at each other, neither satisfied with the issue.

We may now turn for a moment to note the condition of affairs at the capital of the Empire. Orodes had grown old. His reconciliation with Pacorus, who at one time had been in rebellion against him, was complete. Perhaps the aged monarch felt a Parthian pride in the military successes of his son in the West. The death of the latter, therefore, fell heavily upon the king. He became half-insane on account of the loss of his son. True, he had thirty other sons, children of various wives and concubines, but none of them might well take the place of the warrior prince who had perished in battle. The king, however, felt it expedient to determine the succession before his death. He accordingly designated Phraates as his successor, and the choice was ratified by the Megistanes. Orodes then abdicated the throne in favor of his son. The latter, jealous for good reason of some of his half brothers who were born of a princess, conspired with his mother, who was a common concubine, and had the princes whom he feared put to death. The aged father hereupon rebuked his son, and was himself murdered for his interference.

Thus, in B. C. 37, came PHRAATES IV. to the throne of Parthia. Like other royal murderers, he was obliged to go forward in the bloody path which he had chosen. One after another, his half brothers and other relatives were assassinated. In the next place his jealousy fell upon the nobles, of whom many were slain, and others fled. A body of them, headed by a certain Monæses, made their way to Antonius, and represented to him the condition of affairs in Parthia. Monæses besought the Roman to enter the country and support a counter-revolution in his favor, promising to accept the crown at the hands of Antonius, and to hold it as a subject of the Roman Republic.

The bait was tempting. Antonius had

ROMAN ARMY CROSSING THE TIGRIS.

sufficient cause for making war on the Parthians. Time and again they had entered and ravaged the Roman provinces in Syria and Asia Minor. Ambition also led him on. He accordingly gathered his forces on the Euphratine frontier, and made preparations for an invasion. Phraates, informed of these movements, took the alarm, and sent for Monæses to be restored to honor. Antonius permitted him to depart, but sent with him an embassy, demanding of the Parthian king the restoration of the Roman standards taken from Crassus, and the liberation of all prisoners who still survived. These demands were not complied with, and Antonius continued his preparations for war. His aggregate forces amounted to a hundred and thirteen thousand

men. The army was made up of the legions, sixty thousand strong, of thirty thousand Asiatics who had joined his standard, of ten thousand Gallic horsemen, and a considerable force out of Armenia. Artavasdes, king of the latter country, long balancing his interests between Parthia and Rome, had at last assented to a league with Antonius, and promised his support in the ensuing war.

This alliance enabled the Roman to enter the Parthian Empire by way of Armenia, and in that direction the expedition was undertaken. Antonius, after traversing the friendly districts, entered the hostile territory in Media Atropatêné; and here the war began. The Romans advanced to the capital and besieged the city. Several unsuccessful assaults were made; but the place could not be taken. Winter came on, with the siege undetermined. Meanwhile the Parthian army got upon the flank and rear, and captured or destroyed the siege-train of the Romans. The soldiers became discouraged, and winter bellowed around with hurricanes of sleet and snow. Antonius was obliged to fall back. He made an effort to negotiate, but the enemy laughed at his calamity. Nevertheless, Antonius was not Crassus. The Proconsul had no notion of losing his army or his life. Instead of retreating by the expected route, he sought a directer course through a mountain pass back to the River Araxes, and by this way he managed to reach a place of safety. His losses, however, had been very great. About forty thousand of his men had perished by battle or the severity of the season. Parthia might well congratulate herself that the retreat of the Roman army through the winter snows, for a distance of three hundred miles, was the beginning of the end. Such, indeed, it might have been but for the treacherous condition of all political dependence in the countries concerned.

For no sooner was Antony repelled than the Median governor of Atropatêné quarreled with the king about the division of the Roman spoils. Suspicion followed suspicion, and the Mede concluded that for him the way of safety was in an appeal to Antonius. He accordingly sent an embassy to Alexandria, whither the Roman had retired to spend the winter with Cleopatra, and tendered to him an alliance offensive and defensive against Parthia. Antonius readily accepted the overture. He had become angered at his ally, the king of Armenia, who had abandoned him in the day of his peril, and was anxious to find a new confederate on the border of the Parthian Empire.

Early in B. C. 34 the Roman general returned to the army in Armenia, and presently succeeded in gaining possession of Artavasdes the king. His son and successor was defeated in battle and obliged to fly to the Parthians. As for the king of the Medes, Antony cemented the union between that personage and himself by marrying the daughter of the prince to his son Alexander, offspring of his amours with Cleopatra of Egypt.

During this year nothing was done in the field. The attention of Antony had been drawn to Europe by the threatening attitude of Octavianus. The long accumulating difficulties between the two Roman leaders was rapidly coming to the arbitrament of the sword. Antonius was obliged to return from Armenia into Asia Minor to counteract the movements of his rival. Hereupon Phraates, in B. C. 33, renewed the war, and succeeded in making the king of Media his prisoner. The Armenian monarch Artaxias, recovered his throne. The Roman garrisons were expelled from the countries which they had occupied within the limits of the Empire.

By this time, however, the civil dissensions in Parthia were renewed, and an insurrection against the king, headed by a certain Tiridates, was for the moment successful. Phraates fled to the Scythians, solicited their aid, returned with an army, and quickly restored himself to power. The usurper escaped to Octavianus, who was at that time in the East, and took with him to that distinguished Roman the son of the Parthian king. When Phraates demanded the restoration of his son and the giving up of the rebel Tiridates who had conspired against him, Octavianus refused the latter request, but agreed to the former on condition that the Parthian would surrender the standards taken from Crassus and liberate the sur-

viving Roman prisoners. This demand had now become habitual with the Romans in all their dealings with Parthia. In the present case Phraates received his son with gladness, but refused to give up the standards or to set the Roman prisoners at liberty.

The reader of history knows full well the story of the final conflict between Octavianus and Antonius. Hereafter, in the history of Rome, we shall record at length the vicissitudes of the long struggle which culminated at Actium. Hereby the peaceable accession of Octavianus to the Imperial throne was made easy and inevitable. Antonius, following the seductions of Cleopatra, fled once more to Egypt, and there, after additional defeat and humiliation, stabbed himself and died in the presence of the woman for whom he had lost the world.

By these events Parthia was again liberated for a season from the fear of Roman invasion. But Augustus—for by this title Octavianus is henceforth known—was little disposed, peaceable as were his general intentions, to permit the affairs of the East to remain in their present indeterminate state. After spending the first ten years of his reign in regulating and establishing the Imperial Government, after the pattern given by Julius, the Emperor found himself ready to settle finally the issue between himself and the Parthian king. Accordingly, in B. C. 20, he went in person into Asia, and, partly by menace and partly by diplomacy, induced Phraates to surrender the Crassian standards. However humiliating the act may have been to the King of Kings, he nevertheless yielded to the inevitable and gave up the trophies which signified so much to the half-barbaric pride of himself and his subjects. The Roman prisoners who still survived were permitted to return to Europe, and an amicable relation was established between the emperors of the East and the West.

It can not be doubted that at this time it was definitely agreed that henceforth the River Euphrates should be observed by both Powers as the true inter-imperial boundary. Such agreement was in harmony with the well-known theory of Augustus that the Roman Empire had now expanded to its natural limit, beyond which neither sound policy nor military ambition could safely carry it. To this the Parthian king, troubled with dissensions in his own dominion, was glad to assent, and thus a condition of stability and peace was reached in the closing years of the Ancient Era.

Henceforth for a long time amity existed between Ctesiphon and Rome. Phraates selected the City of the Tiber as a place for the residence and education of his four sons. These were Vonones, Seraspadanes, Rhodaspes, and Phraates.

Once and again, however—and that with respect to the troublesome kingdom of Armenia—did hostilities break out between the two Empires. The question at issue was the old one as to the relative and preponderating influence of Rome or Parthia with the Armenian king. Augustus found it necessary to send his son Caius Cæsar to the East with an army. The Roman prince came to the Euphrates and was about to begin an invasion, when the Parthian monarch, taking counsel of his fears, yielded to the inevitable, and a new treaty was made by himself and the young Cæsar on an island in the Euphrates. The settlement was definitive. The supremacy of Rome in Armenian affairs was acknowledged, and henceforth Parthia abstained from aggression in this direction. Soon after the treaty was concluded, Caius Cæsar, going into Armenia, and being obliged to besiege a town, was slain by a missile from the walls. But events went forward to their logical conclusion. Armenia passed under the protectorate of Rome, and all beyond was left to the undisputed sway of the Parthian kings.

Meanwhile the reign of Phraates IV., fifteenth of the Arsacidæ, had ended with his life, in the year B. C. 2. The crown descended to his son PHRAATACES, offspring of an Italian slave-girl, whom Augustus had sent as a present to his friend, the late king of Parthia. To him, rather than to any of the elder sons long resident in Rome, the throne passed without dispute. But it was not long until the Parthian nobles, hating the mother of their new sovereign and despising the race to which she belonged, rose against Phraataces, drove him

from power, and took his life. Having succeeded thus by insurrection in undoing the existing order, the Megistanes proceeded to elect to the throne a certain ORODES, of whom little is known except that he was one of the Arsacidæ. We may conjecture that he was a descendant of Orodes, fourteenth monarch of the line.

At any rate, about the year A. D. 12, he was called home from exile, and given the crown. Almost immediately, however, he displayed such qualities of cruelty and vice as sickened the nobles with their own work. A company of them accordingly inveigled the king into a hunting excursion, and availed themselves of the opportunity to put him to death. An embassy was at once despatched to Rome, to call home VONONES, eldest son of Phraates IV. The prince complied with the requisition, returned from his long absence, and accepted the crown. But it was soon found that his residence in Rome had unfitted him for the Parthian throne. He came back essentially a Roman, and in a short time the alienation between him and his makers was complete. Vonones was permitted to reign for about three years; but in A. D. 16, or possibly the following year, the nobles again went into insurrection, deposed Vonones, and elected a certain ARTABANUS, who at this time was viceroy of Media Atropatêné, to the throne of the Empire. By a strange vicissitude, Vonones escaped into Armenia, and was made king of *that* country.

The action of the Armenians, in accepting the refugee Arsacid for their king, could but arouse the animosity of Artabanus, and he at once undertook to prevent the recognition of Vonones by Rome. In this he was successful to the extent of obliging Vonones to fly to the Roman governor of Syria for protection. It became necessary for Tiberius, who had now succeeded Augustus in the Imperial rank at Rome, to send the brave and talented Germanicus to the East, to regulate the Armenian succession. The latter, on arriving at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia, cut the complication by raising a European nobleman, named Zeno, to the throne, with the title of Artaxias. On the whole, this action was pleasing to the Parthian king, who in the next place requested Germanicus to banish Vonones into foreign parts. This request was complied with; but Vonones, attempting to defeat the arrangement by flight, was pursued, overtaken, and slain.

In A. D. 19 Germanicus died, and Lucius Vitellius was appointed to succeed him in the government of Western Asia. It was believed by Artabanus that Tiberius was in his dotage, and that Vitellius was not the equal of his predecessor. The Parthian, therefore, imagined that he might once more with safety attempt the restoration of his influence and authority in Armenia. Tiberius, when informed of the purposes of the king, sought by an intrigue to stir up a rebellion among the Parthian nobles, and in order to encourage such a movement, sent the young Phraates, a brother of Vonones, to the Mesopotamian border The prince reached Asia, but the change in his manner of life brought on a disease of which he presently died.

Meanwhile, Artabanus had destroyed one or two of the leading conspirators against himself. Being relieved of present apprehension by the death of Phraates, he sent the Roman Emperor an audacious letter, in which that personage was openly charged with all the crimes, vices, and corruptions in the catalogue of human sin. In retaliation for this insult Tiberius ordered Vitellius to interfere again in the affairs of Parthia, and in particular to maintain his ascendency in Armenia. In that country a desultory war occurred in the years A. D. 35 and 36. At one time it appeared that the armies of Parthia and Rome would be brought to decisive battle, but Vitellius succeeded in inciting an insurrection before which Artabanus fled into Hyrcania.

In the meantime, Prince Tiridates, son perhaps of Rhodaspes, at Rome, was sent into Asia as the candidate of Tiberius for the vacant throne. The prince entered Mesopotamia, and was well received by the Greek cities. He was even crowned in Seleucia, and entered upon his duties as King of Kings. But the movement was delusive and farcical. The nobles, native and to the manner born, could have no sympathy with a sovereign who had

been reared in Rome. They accordingly went into Hyrcania, found old Artabanus with his bow and hunting shirt, and induced him to head the counter-revolution against Tiridates. The latter was obliged to fly. His following melted away, and he was glad to find himself once more in safety beyond the Euphrates among the Romans.

In the fourth decade of the first century the condition of affairs above described continued to prevail. Petty hostilities on the side of Armenia recurred constantly, but no general war. The empire became involved in hostilities with the Jews of Babylon—one of the many complications in which that people, now dragging on to the close of their national existence, were involved. But the details, though sufficiently bloody and disgraceful, are of little interest to the reader of general history. Events passed in the usual order until the year A. D. 40, when Artabanus was a second time expelled from the throne, and died after a two years' banishment and a reign of twenty-six years' duration.

The reader will have noted the utter absence among the Parthians of royal rank of those family ties and affections whereby in modern times the kindred of one blood are held in unity and trust. On the contrary, the court of this ancient people was constantly stained with blood poured forth by parricidal or fratricidal violence. On the death of Artabanus III. his sons contended for the throne. At first the eldest, GOTARZES, was given the crown. But it would seem that his hereditary right was soon forgotten on account of his atrocious conduct. Scarcely had he risen to power until he seized and put to death his brother, Artabanus, together with his wife and son. It was evident that, after the Oriental manner, he purposed, according to his passion and jealousy, to destroy all his kindred. It can not have passed attention that for the last half century the Megistanes had increased their power and exercised their rights more freely than at a remoter age. In the present instance they accepted the challenge and drove the king from the throne. His brother VARDANES was called home from a distant province and given the diadem. Gotarzes was abandoned, and obliged to fly to the country of the Dahæ, where, according to the precedent in such cases, he put himself under the protection of the Scyths.

Vardanes came to power without battle so far as his brother was concerned, but was obliged to take arms against the city of Seleucia. That important metropolis had never lost its Grecian character—had never been in political or social sympathy with the Parthian nation. We have heretofore remarked upon the quasi independence of the city and its government by a local Senate of three hundred. Just about the time of the accession of Vardanes there was a municipal revolt, and the authority of the king was wholly discarded. In the year A. D. 42 he brought an army against Seleucia and laid siege to the place, but it was nearly seven years after the revolt before he succeeded in its suppression.

In the meantime Gotarzes, fretting in banishment, induced the Scyths to support him in making war on the king. He accordingly organized an army, advanced into Hyrcania, and was joined by malcontents until the movement became formidable. The two brothers approached each other for battle; but Gotarzes, learning that the National Council was about to depose both of them, sent word to Vardanes, and the two were reconciled. The king remained in authority, and Gotarzes was made governor of Hyrcania.

COIN OF VARDANES I.

It appears that the Parthians were forgetful of the danger with which they were ever menaced from the side of Rome. Notwithstanding his treaty stipulation, the king now attempted to reässert his power in Armenia. That country had accepted its place as a vassal of the Roman Empire. Vardanes, believing himself able to revolutionize the Armenian Government, sought the alliance of the governor of Adiabêné, but that personage opposed his projects, and remained loyal to Rome. Hereupon the Parthian monarch went to war with him, but before a result was

reached, Gotarzes arose again in rebellion, and with a Hyrcanian army, attempted to gain the throne. The king marched against him and defeated him in several battles. But the nobles presently afterwards enticed Vardanes into the chase, and put him to death.

This murder opened the way for GOTARZES, who, in A. D. 46, was recognized as king. The character of that prince, however, soon revealed itself, and the nobles sent an embassy to Rome, requesting that the prince Meherdates, son of Vonones, be sent to them for the royal honor. The Emperor Claudius, who now occupied the throne, yielded to the request, and Meherdates was sent to Mesopotamia. He soon found himself at the head of a rebellious army, and advanced as far as Media Adiabêné. At this point, however, his forces began to desert him, and he was obliged to recede before the king. Before escaping from the complication into which he had rushed, he was betrayed into the hands of Gotarzes, who treated him with contempt rather than cruelty.

The king, however, did not long survive his triumph. In A. D. 51 he died. The crown was transferred to an Arsacid prince named VONONES, who is believed to have been a half brother of Artabanus III. No events of any importance occurred during his reign, or at least the record of none such has reached posterity. It is believed that his occupancy of the throne did not exceed a year in duration. Nor is the manner of his death referred to by the ancient historians. All that is known is that about A. D. 51 or 52 the crown was transferred to the king's son VOLAGASES I. In entering on his reign, the latter appointed his brother Pacorus to a provincial governorship, and then undertook the conquest of Armenia, in order to procure a province for his other brother named Tiridates.

It appears that at this juncture the Romans were less jealous than usual concerning Parthian intervention in Armenian affairs. At any rate, Volagases was permitted to organize an expedition, and to advance into the coveted territory. He gained therein a footing, and raised Tiridates to the governorship. Having done so much, the king sent an embassy to Nero to acquaint him with his motives and purposes. The Roman Emperor was angered at the thing done, and Corbulo, a noted general, and Ummidius, at that time Proconsul of Syria, were directed to recover the lost possessions of the Empire. The commanders gathered an army on the Armenian frontier, but presently opened negotiations with Volagases, and the difficulty was adjusted without battle. Strangely enough, the Romans conceded the Armenian kingdom to Tiridates; and the Parthian monarch was permitted to retire from the country without punishment.

These events occurred in the year A. D. 55. It was fortunate for Volagases that he was able so easily to extricate himself from the difficulty on his western border. All of his energies and resources were now demanded in an effort to suppress a rebellion which in his absence had been fomented by his son Vardanes. Civil war now ensued for the space of three years, and the insurrection was suppressed. Finding himself no longer opposed, the king turned again to Armenia, and demanded that the Romans should make still further concessions in regard to the government of that country. But the latter seized the opportunity to recover the ground already lost. Corbulo occupied the years A. D. 58–60 with a war against the Armenians, or rather against the Parthian party, headed by Tiridates, and expelled that prince finally from the country. The Roman rule was restored in full, and Volagases was obliged to content himself with an Armenian administration established by his rival.

By this time the Parthian nobles had come to doubt the infallibility of their monarch. They charged him with inefficiency in permitting Armenia to slip from his grasp. The king, resolving to regain public confidence, sought to do so by organizing a third expedition for the purpose of restoring Tiridates to the Armenian throne. But the expedition was unsuccessful, and an armistice was declared until what time the Parthian embassy despatched to Rome might return with the decision of Nero. The latter sent out as his representative and general in the East Lucius

Pætus. The latter came into Syria, and joined his forces with those of Corbulo.

Both generals soon entered the Parthian country, Pætus making the invasion of Armenia. Winter came on, and the Roman commander established himself in a poorly fortified camp. Volagases hurried forward with a large army, and the position of Pætus became perilous. He was surrounded by the Parthians, and obliged to capitulate on condition of retiring from the country. The wrecks of his forces were joined with those of the prudent Corbulo, to whom the maintenance of Roman interests in the country was now intrusted. It was in vain that the Parthian king sought to induce Corbulo to come to an accommodation. The Roman, with the opening of spring, advanced into Armenia, and reoccupied the territory held in the previous year by Pætus.

COIN OF VARDANES II.

Volagases was now thoroughly alarmed, and reöpened negotiations. Tiridates was obliged, on the site of the old camp of Pætus, to pull off his royal garments and lay them down before a statue of Nero. It was agreed, however, that the deposed prince should go to Rome and receive again his crown at the hands of the Roman Emperor. This was accordingly done. While Tiridates was permitted to reign in Armenia, it was with the consent and virtually under the authority of Rome.

The reign of Volagases was now long and peaceful. It is believed that he held the throne from A. D. 51 to about A. D. 78, a period of twenty-seven years. He reached a good old age, and died, bequeathing the crown to his son Pacorus.

During the remainder of the first century of our era, but few important events occurred in the history of the Parthian Empire. After the troubles of Volagases with the Romans, no further complications with that people arose for a considerable length of time. It seems, however, that the Parthians, like other barbarian nations, were not more prosperous in peace than in war. It may be conceded that war is the natural condition of a nomadic State, just as peace is the normal condition of an industrial State. So long as the soil is not extensively cultivated, so long as commerce does not spring and flourish, so long as manufacturing industries are not created, a people must procure for themselves the objects of desire by the spoliation of their neighbors.

Of all the ancient peoples none fulfilled this condition more perfectly than did the Parthians. As a result, the coming of peace was the coming of inaction, sluggishness, and decay. There were, moreover, during the reign of Pacorus, which extended to about A. D. 108, many internal disturbances which tended to the disintegration of the Empire. It appears that the old feudal principle not only held its own against the consolidating forces, but gradually prevailed over them. In times of peace feudalism, as illustrated in the local governments of the provinces, was rampant to the extent of making the feudatories virtually independent. Rawlinson has pointed out the fact that the history of this period is confused by the presence of coins bearing the images and superscriptions of sovereigns unknown to the Grecian and Roman authors. Thus we find a Vardanes II., and afterwards, between the years 62 and 78 A. D., an Artabanus IV. and a Volagases II., as though such sovereigns had reigned between Volagases I. and his son Pacorus. Further on there is a coin of Mithridates IV., for whom there is no place in the line of the Arsacidæ. Doubtless the explanation is to be found in the fact that many of the local governors carried their independence to the pitch of coining money and putting their own effigies and inscriptions on the coins. It might thus happen that three or four provincial mints were at work in different parts of the Empire at the same time.

COIN OF MITHRIDATES IV.

On the death of Pacorus, which is assigned to the year 108 A. D., the Megistanes again asserted their authority by putting aside the two sons of the late king and choosing his

brother CHOSROËS instead. A reason for this action may be found in the youth of the princes and in the military experience of the king-elect. It might be supposed that by this time the Parthians had learned by experience the unwisdom of intermeddling with the affairs of Armenia. It may be confessed, however, that the last compact with the Romans was of a kind to encourage the belief that Arsacid princes should henceforth wear the Armenian crown. Tiridates had been accepted in that relation, and reigned to the end of his life, at the close of the first century. Pacorus, at that time king of Parthia, had raised his son Exedares to the vacancy, assuming either that Rome would offer no objection, or else that he should be able by arms to enforce his will and authority.

For the time it appeared that the former supposition was realized, and that Exedares would be permitted to reign in peace. The Roman Emperor Trajan was at this time hotly engaged in his war with the Dacians on the Danube. This work occupied his attention until the year 114 A. D., when Dacia was subdued. Trajan now found time to turn his attention to the affairs of the East. A great expedition was accordingly organized and sent into Asia, to impress upon the Parthians the truth of their forgotten lesson. As the army advanced, Chosroës sought to stay the coming storm by sending out an embassy, which met the Romans at Athens. The Parthian proposed that Exedares should abdicate the Armenian throne, and that his brother, Parthamasiris, should be chosen for the place under the auspices and with the consent of Rome. The proposition might well have satisfied the Roman Emperor, but the latter had determined to reëstablish his authority in the East on a new basis, disregarding all antecedents, and aiming only at a permanent and undisturbed supremacy. The Parthian ambassadors were accordingly sent back to their master, and the expedition was carried into Asia.

Nevertheless Parthamasiris went to the Roman camp, presented himself to the Emperor, and laid down his crown before him. Trajan, however, instead of replacing it on his head, retained the prince, and presently informed him that Armenia was destined henceforth to be a Roman province. As for Parthamasiris, he was permitted to leave the camp, but was pursued by a band of Roman horsemen, who, doubtless with the privity and instigation of the Emperor himself, recaptured him and put him to death. Chosroës was either unable or unwilling to hazard interference with the purposes of the murderer of his nephew. Armenia was yielded up, and a Roman governor was appointed to exercise authority over the country in place of the Arsacid prince.

With a high hand and outstretched arm Trajan proceeded to overawe all the neighboring nations and to instill the fear of his name. At least two of the Western provinces of Parthia were torn away and added to the Roman dominion. Everything was settled according to the Emperor's will, and he then repaired to Antioch, where he established his head-quarters for the winter. Scarcely, however, had he planted himself in the city when it was shaken into ruins by one of the most disastrous earthquakes recorded in Ancient History. The Emperor himself barely escaped from the falling building in which he had taken his residence. All the Syrian cities suffered injury, greater or less, from the disturbance. The Eastern Mediterranean and the Ægean sea were tossed and heaved by the shock, and some of the Greek towns were thrown down.

It appears that Trajan, while in the East, in the preceding year, namely, in A. D. 115, had made up his mind to attack Parthia itself. His plans in this particular were matured in the following spring. A Roman fleet was sent *on wagons* across the desert to the Tigris, where the vessels were reconstructed and launched. It was determined to make Media Adiabêné the point of attack. Against this country the expedition was now directed, and Chosroës found himself unable to defend his province. He was obliged, by the internal condition of the Empire, to hold aloof from the contest and see one of the most important countries under his authority overrun by the Romans.

The passion of Trajan was now thoroughly aroused. From his conquest of Adiabêné he

marched against Ctesiphon, and took the city. He traversed Mesopotamia, and captured Babylon without fighting a battle. Seleucia revolted, and, following her immemorial preference, fell willingly into the hands of the conqueror. The Parthian king retired from his capital cities, and went far into the interior, drawing after him the Roman army. It appears that not even the discerning mind of Trajan was able to apprehend the danger to which he exposed himself in his lengthening march to the East. When he had advanced to a great distance in that direction without being able to bring the enemy to battle, he was suddenly startled with the intelligence that the provinces and cities behind him were rising against the Romans. City gates were shut on every hand. The soldiers began to suffer. The Parthians rallied and returned in the wake of the retreat. Not without serious losses, vexations, and humiliations did the Roman army finally succeed in reaching a place of safety. The Parthians recovered everything except Adiabêné, Upper Mesopotamia, and Armenia. Trajan himself scarcely survived his repulse. He died in 117 A. D., and was succeeded in the Imperial authority by Hadrian.

Each party in the conflict, thus ever renewed on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire, had now learned a lesson from the other. Hadrian was not slow to perceive that the vaulting ambition of Trajan had overreached itself and fallen on the other side. He immediately changed the policy of the Empire with respect to Parthia, choosing the method of conciliation and concession. Upper Mesopotamia and Adiabêné were restored to Chosroës. The daughter of that monarch, whom Trajan had captured and sent to Rome, was returned in honor to her father. In the year A. D. 122 the two emperors met on the disputed border and personally adjusted the affairs between them. The Parthian king lived to about 130 A. D., when the throne passed to VOLAGASES II. But the relations of the latter to the Arsacid line are uncertain. Most authors have made the descent regular from father to son, but in this instance the testimony of the coins and the accepted narratives of the Greek and Roman historians are in conflict; for which reason the place by descent of the second Volagases in the diagram of the Arsacidæ has been indicated by the line of doubt.

The new reign was one of peace. The agreement between Hadrian and Chosroës was on the whole well kept. It seems, moreover, that at this time the feudatories were less troublesome—less disposed to advance their own claims to independence—than they had been during the preceding half century. In only one instance was the peace of the Empire under Volagases II. seriously broken. At this time a certain Pharasmanes, king of the Iberians, had become in his own esteem an important personage in Western Asia. Himself a feudatory of Rome, he dared to treat Hadrian and his authority with contempt. Towards Volagases he held a similar insolent attitude. At length he instigated the barbarous nation of the Alani to pass the Caucasus and plunder Cappadocia and Atropatêné. The first of these States belonged to Rome; the other, to Parthia. Volagases found cause to complain to Hadrian of the conduct of his vassal. The Roman governor Arrian soon drove the Alani out of Cappadocia, but neglected to expel them from Atropatêné. The Parthian king for his part—being no warrior—was constrained at length to purchase the retirement of the barbarians with much gold.

Volagases reigned until A. D. 149. Hadrian had died eleven years previously. The latter was succeeded in the Imperial dignity by Titus Aurelius, first of the Antonines. Soon after his accession, a passing gust of ill feeling was created between the two Empires by the attempt of the Parthian king to recover the golden throne of his ancestors which Trajan had captured in Ctesiphon and sent home to Rome. It was claimed by the Parthians that the amicable relations now existing between the East and the West warranted and demanded the surrender of the trophy. But neither Hadrian nor his successor was willing to give it up.

As for the Parthian succession, that fell to VOLAGASES III., son of the late king. He was destined to the longest reign which had ever

yet occurred in the annals of the Arsacid kings. At the beginning of his reign his ambitions incited him to hostility with Rome. He made preparation for a war, but a remonstrance and rebuke from Antoninus Pius prevented the outbreak. Nevertheless the Parthian cherished his purpose, and in A. D. 161 he began a war by invading Armenia. The Parthians had never been satisfied with the protectorate of Rome over that country. They had always sought, when the opportunity was present, to restore their influence by establishing on the Armenian throne a prince of the Arsacidæ, to the end that the two countries should be and remain in political and military sympathy.

An opportunity to reässert the ancient claim was afforded by the death of the first Antoninus and the accession of his son, the justly celebrated Marcus Aurelius. The Parthian king was successful in his Armenian campaigns, and a certain Tigranes, his kinsman, was made king. Hereupon Severianus, prefect of Cappadocia, accepted the challenge, and marched against the Parthians. Crossing the Euphrates, he was met, near Elegeia, by the army of the king, was driven into the city, besieged, and in a short time destroyed with all his forces. The Parthians now assumed the offensive, and made a great campaign into Syria and Palestine. Such high-handed proceedings roused great animosity at Rome, and an army under command of Lucius Verus, brother of the Emperor, was sent at once to the East. On his arrival in Asia, terms of accommodation were offered to the Parthians, but were rejected with scorn. The lieutenants of Verus then threw forward the army from Antioch, and in A. D. 163 Volagases was routed in the battle of Europus.

Meanwhile, a revulsion took place in Armenia. Statius Priscus and other generals of the Roman army marched into that country, and Tigranes was driven from the throne. It could not be expected that after thus hurling back the Parthians into their own country the Romans would forbear to follow up their successes with invasion. Cassius received from the Emperor the appointment of Captain-general, with instructions, or at least permission, to carry the war into Parthia. The advance was begun under favorable auspices, and a battle was fought at Sura, in Mesopotamia, in which the Romans were victorious. Cassius then advanced on the great city of Seleucia, which he besieged, took, and destroyed. Ctesiphon met the same fate. The king, his government and his army were obliged to fall back into the interior. Media was overrun by the conquerors, and for the time it seemed that a greater than Antonius or Trajan had come.

At the crisis of the war, however, when it seemed that the Parthian Empire was about to be overthrown, a strange and terrible pestilence broke out in the Roman army, and the soldiers began to die by hundreds and thousands. Superstition contrived for the malady a supernatural origin. It was said that a cell in one of the temples at Seleucia had been broken open by the soldiers, and that a spirit of death had issued forth to punish the sacrilege. Terror and disease combined to ruin the expedition. The army receded from Asia into Europe, spreading the pestilence in its wake. Only a few of the soldiers survived, and Italy was so greatly infected as to lose a large percentage of her population.

Thus in disaster ended the most successful campaign—so far as its military progress was concerned—which the Romans had ever made into Parthia. It would appear that the Parthians were not foolish enough to underrate the injury which they had suffered. They were intelligent enough to perceive that the pestilence rather than their own valor had saved the Empire from conquest and perhaps disruption. Volagases, therefore, was satisfied to have peace by the cession to Rome of the province of Osrhoëne, which remained henceforth a part of the Roman dominion. Parthia was obliged to accept the humiliation. Her two great cities had been leveled to the ground. Her army was no longer able to contend with the legions of Rome, even when the latter were commanded by lieutenants. Civil contention had tended powerfully to weaken the monarchy. The method of mutual assassination among the Arsacid princes had prevailed so long as to become a precedent of

political action. More than all, the vice of race had prevented the emergence of the people into the higher forms of civilization. Neither literature nor art had appeared with its regenerating influence to renew, vivify, and enlighten the nation. It would seem that the spirit of Volagases himself was humbled or broken. After the destruction of his capital, he reigned for fully a quarter of a century, but gave little sign of those ambitions which had fired the energies of his youth. Only in a single instance did there appear a likelihood of the renewal of war with the Roman Empire. Cassius, great in the recollection of his Asiatic campaign, became an insurgent in Syria, where he was in command, and in the year A. D. 174 proclaimed himself Emperor in that country. Between him and Volagases hostilities were imminent, when the Roman army out of Europe arrived in Syria, and the revolt of Cassius was put down with a strong hand. The Roman Emperor, always inclined to peace, readily accepted the overtures which were now made by the Parthian king, and the long existing amicable relations between the two Powers were fully restored.

With the death of Marcus Aurelius, in the year A. D. 180, the Roman throne went to his son Commodus, infamous in the annals of the Empire. Volagases survived his contemporary for eleven years, dying in the year 191, and bequeathing his crown to his son VOLAGASES IV.

The reader of history will readily recall the course of events at this epoch in the West. Commodus was murdered, and the Imperial throne was presently claimed by several competitors. In the East, Pescennius Niger set up his banner and claimed the diadem. In the West, Severus was acknowledged at Rome. Other claimants arose in the persons of Albinus and Julianus. When Niger perceived that he must take by the sword the crown to which he aspired, he sought the aid of the Parthian king. The latter was wary of the proposed alliance. One of his dependents, however, the satrap of Hatra, joined his fortunes with the Roman pretender, and sent to

PARTHIAN CAPTIVES BEFORE MARCUS AURELIUS.

him a body of troops. On the whole, however, the Parthian nations were disposed to take advantage of the civil war in the West, and to expel the Romans from Mesopotamia. They seized the places which had been occupied for generations by Roman garrisons, and demanded that all Europeans should retire from the country.

Meanwhile, Severus triumphed over his enemies, and at once undertook to restore the Imperial authority beyond the Euphrates. This work was accomplished with comparative ease. Not only was Mesopotamia overrun, but Adiabênê was entered and occupied. By the time this work was accomplished, however, namely, in the summer of A. D. 195, a new complication had arisen in Italy, and Severus was obliged to hurry to the West.

It was hoped by Volagases IV. and his subjects that the retirement was final, and hostilities were immediately renewed. Not only in Adiabênê, but in Mesopotamia also, the Roman garrisons were attacked and either destroyed or expelled from the country. Syria was entered and terrorized; but Severus had by this time restored order in the West, and hastily returned to prosecute the Eastern war. The Parthians were hurled from Syria. In A. D. 197 a Roman army was sent into Armenia, and the protectorate of the Empire over that province was reëstablished. The Parthian king had a personal conference with Severus, and gave his sons into the hands of the Emperor as hostages.

It seems, however, that the Parthian king was no longer able to control the destinies of his Empire. The Mesopotamian provinces and cities were hostile to the Romans, and Severus had to send detachments of his army to bring them into subjection. One after another the hostile parts were invaded and subdued. Ctesiphon, which had in the mean time been rebuilt and reëstablished as the capital, was the next object of attack. The Romans carried the city by assault, and Volagases saved himself from capture by fleeing into the interior. The city was plundered by the invaders, and a great part of the inhabitants put to the sword. Again it appeared that the Parthian Empire was at the verge of extinction; but the supplies of the Roman army failed, and it became necessary for the Emperor to retire. In doing so he sought to take, *en route*, the city of Hatra. But in this project he was unsuccessful. The Parthians rallied, and Severus found it expedient to retire into Syria. In this case, however, the Parthians did not pursue. The damage done to Volagases and his Empire had been so great that he did not dare to follow his retiring antagonist. Severus remained in the East until the year A. D. 201, having in the interval restored order in all the countries to the limits of the Roman Empire.

As for Volagases IV., his reign extended to the year 209, while that of Severus continued for two years longer. It was the misfortune of the Parthian sovereign to leave a disputed succession. His sons Artabanus and Volagases contended for the crown. It is believed that *both* of these princes reigned as contemporaries in different parts of the Empire. But VOLAGASES V. was displaced about 216 A. D., and the sole dominion remained to ARTABANUS IV. The latter was recognized as king by the Romans.

In the West, Caracalla succeeded his father Severus in the year 211. At that time civil war existed in Parthia between the two brothers who were contending for the crown. The new Roman Emperor was ambitious, from the day of his accession, of winning fame by war, and since the opportunity did not offer in the West, he turned his attention to Asia. Not satisfied with having Osrhoëne reduced to a Roman province, he sought to bring the ancient and oft-disputed kingdom of Armenia into like relation with the Empire. He managed by treachery to seize the Armenian king and his family, whereupon the subjects of the captive monarch took up arms. Fighting with desperation, they succeeded in winning a victory over the Roman lieutenant who was sent to subdue them.

Nevertheless, Caracalla continued his exactions and oppressions, and sought a quarrel with the Parthian king. He himself went to Antioch, and established there his capital. Soon afterwards he opened with the Parthian monarch negotiations of an extraordinary kind.

The student of Roman history is well aware of the desperate character of Caracalla, and is prepared to expect all manner of treachery at his hands. In nothing, however, was the deep-seated perfidy of his nature more fully revealed than in the transaction in which he now engaged with Artabanus IV. He sent an embassy to that sovereign bearing a letter in which the Roman traversed at length the relations existing between the two Empires, and ended by asking the Parthian to give him his daughter in marriage. By this means the two great Powers of Europe and Asia would be united in a common destiny. The surrounding barbarian nations could be easily reduced by war, and thus the two great Powers of Europe and Asia be brought under a single scepter.

The Parthian king was staggered by this astounding proposal, but seeing that war was intended in case of a refusal, he first temporized and then yielded to the demand. The Roman Emperor hereupon set out in great state, with a strong military force, to visit the Parthian capital and receive his bride. On arriving at Ctesiphon he was received with corresponding pomp in the plain before the city. But while the ceremonies were preparing, and the conference of the sovereigns no more than begun, a signal was given, and the Roman soldiers rose with drawn swords upon the Parthians. The latter were butchered by thousands. The king himself barely escaped the common fate. Ctesiphon was taken and plundered, and the Romans, laden with spoils, set out on the return through Babylonia. On the way Caracalla directed his march through the ancient necropolis of the Parthian nobility at Arbela. Here the Romans paused and tore open and ravaged the tombs. Thence they continued the march to Edessa, where the Emperor established himself for the winter of 216–17. In the following spring he made preparations to renew his barbarous and wanton war, but in April of this year he was assassinated in the temple of the Moon-god, at Carrhæ.

So far as Caracalla possessed the right to the Imperial diadem of Rome, the same was now transferred to Macrinus, who to the vices of his predecessor added a cowardice of his own. He would fain have come to an accommodation with the Parthians, but the latter were now angered to desperation. In the negotiations that followed Artabanus made such demands as could not be accepted even by a poltroon. Macrinus was accordingly obliged to put forth his army and take the hazard of battle. The hostile forces came together near the city of Nisibis, at this time the metropolis of Mesopotamia. Here the

SACK OF CTESIPHON BY THE ROMANS.

question was finally decided whether the power of Rome should be extended over the Great Plateau of Iran, or whether the line of demarkation which Augustus had pointed out should remain as the *thus-far* of Roman domination in the East.

Both armies as they came together were at their best; but the Parthians were the more ably commanded. The battle began with a local struggle between divisions of the two forces for the possession of a stream which was to furnish water. A hard-fought engagement terminated indecisively, and the armies rested for the night. On the following morning the conflict was renewed, and all day long the battle raged with fury. One division of the Parthian army was composed of a body

of soldiers mounted on camels, and armed with long spears against which it was difficult for the Romans to stand. In falling back, however, they sowed the ground with *tribuli*, which, piercing the camels' feet, ended the charge. Again night came on with the battle undecided.

On the third day, however, the Parthians began to gain. Their cavalry wings were extended right and left, and seemed to envelop the legions. These were obliged to thin ranks in order to confront the enemy. Hereupon, by rapid evolution, the Parthians concentrated their forces, charged after their furious manner, and drove the Romans from the field. The latter sought safety in their camp, and were in peril of destruction. But the Parthians, as well as their foe, had suffered enormous losses, and when Macrinus opened negotiations, Artabanus was willing to grant more liberal terms than might have been expected from such a victor on such a field. He, however, demanded and received a sum equal to about seven and a-half million dollars as an indemnity for the injuries inflicted on his people and provinces.

Such was the end of a conflict which had extended through nearly three centuries of time. The Romans and the Parthians fought no more battles. Of all the outlying countries of Europe or Asia, only the Parthian Empire had been able to interpose an immovable bulwark against the aggressive ambitions of the race of Romulus. It might well appear that now, when the conflict had been finally decided against the Romans by the sword—when the Emperor Macrinus himself had been obliged to fly from the field of Nisibis in order to save his life—the Parthians would revive from their depression and enter upon a new career of development. Destiny, however, had written it otherwise. That which a foreign enemy had been unable to accomplish was now to be brought about by internal violence. Through the whole history of the Empire, the disruptive forces had been at work. The provinces had been held together with the greatest difficulty. Time and again we have referred to the fact that no stronger political tie than the Feudal principle had been discovered wherewith to bind the nations and peoples, brought under a single dominion by Mithridates, into one great community, having common interests and common conditions of life. This circumstance was the element of weakness which had ever menaced the stability of the Empire, and out of this was now to spring the great catastrophe by which the Parthian dominion was to be subverted.

It remained for Persia—that is Persia Proper—to become the agent of disruption. The reader will remember that it was under the auspices of Persia that the former great Empire had been created on the Iranian Plateau. With the conquest of Alexander, the ancient Power was destroyed, and Persia became a tributary kingdom in the new dominion established by the Arsacidæ. It appears that the Persian kings had had, during the Parthian ascendency, a show of respect, a degree of importance, which might not be paralleled among the other feudatories of the Empire.

There were, however, serious causes of discontent among the Persians. The tradition of their old-time glory, the memory of the deeds of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis still lingered among the people. Outside of the Greek cities no other province of the Empire was comparable with Persia in culture and refinement. The ancient religious faith tended to pride of race and contempt for the Pagan States. The Imperial Government had for several centuries pursued a tolerant policy in matters of religion, granting no exclusive favors to any particular faith. This policy was a matter of great grief to the Persian Magi, who had all the haughtiness and bigotry of Asiatic Pharisees. To be placed on a level with the servants of the other gods of the Parthian Empire was a thing intolerable to the Persians of the ancient sacerdotal order. The secular offices within the limits of Persia were generally filled by Parthians as against the claims of native warriors and statesmen. Notwithstanding their great lineage and glorious history, the Persians were unable to see that they enjoyed any advantages—civil, religious, or social—over the rude and half-civilized nations of the Northern provinces. The reasons for

rebellion were thus deep-seated in the constitution and history of the State, and nothing but opportunity was wanting for a great insurrection.

At the time of the battle of Nisibis the under-king of Persia bore the famous name of Artaxerxes. He appears to have been a man of extraordinary ambitions and great force of character. It is believed that he was himself a Magus, profoundly instructed in the mysteries of the ancient faith, and deeply devoted to the religion of his countrymen. It were impossible to tell, in the absence of contemporary evidences, the precise motives by which the Persian king was influenced in raising the standard of revolution. Certain it is that one of the leading impulses of the rebellion was the hoped-for restoration of the ancient Zoroastrian faith, which had for so long a period been reduced to the level of a pagan cult. But we may well believe that the Persian under-king was influenced in hazarding his fortunes on the issue of civil war by political and warlike ambitions, as well as by his religious zeal. He perceived in the Parthian situation a great opportunity. A pretender to the Imperial crown, named Volagases V., had appeared in the field. He claimed to be a representative of the Arsacid dynasty, and was not without a considerable support in different provinces. It is believed, moreover, that Hyrcania had already fallen away from its allegiance to the Empire. Many other circumstances, the nature of which it is difficult, after so great a lapse of time, to apprehend, were doubtless potential in exciting and directing the revolutionary movement which now broke out in Persia, under the leadership of Artaxerxes. To him it now remained, in the same year of the final repulse of the Romans, to raise the standard of successful revolt against Artabanus.

It would seem that Artabanus had suffered so greatly from his recent Roman wars with Commodus, Caracalla, and Macrinus, as to be unable to bring into the field against the revolted country an army of sufficient strength and resources for the work. At any rate, when the two forces—the insurrectionary on the one side, and the Imperial on the other—came together on the plain of Hormuz, the king's army was beaten in battle, routed, and driven to the four winds. Artabanus himself was slain, and the victory of the Persians was so complete that there was little hope of reviving the national cause. Some of the Arsacid princes sought to restore the fortunes of their House, and desultory fighting continued through another year; but the army of Artaxerxes triumphed more and more, and he was soon enabled to compel the last representative of the ancient dynasty to submit to his will. Thus by conquest and a complete reversion of political relations was the Empire founded by Arsaces, and developed and defended by the great kings of the second century B. C., crowded to the precipice, and hurled down into darkness and oblivion.

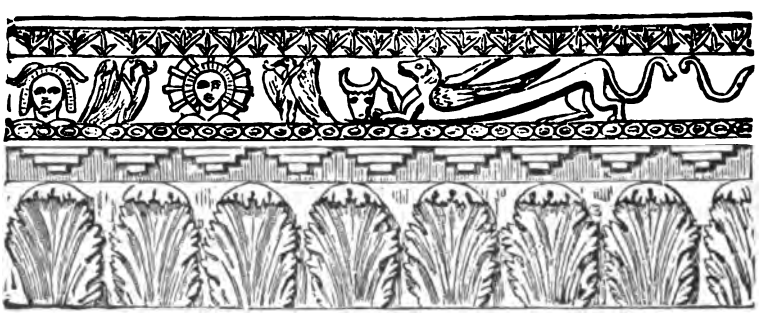
The causes of the subversion of the Parthian Power are easily discoverable, even from the rapid survey here presented of the history of the Empire. In the first place, the existence of feudalism in its Asiatic form had prevented the complete union of the many provinces and dependencies constituting the Imperial dominions. Time and again we have pointed out the disastrous results of the loose confederative system on which the Empire was founded. The different peoples thus vaguely combined under a single government retained too great a measure of independence and sovereignty for the welfare and stability of the central administration. The feudatories never coälesced to the extent of forming a consolidated union. The Empire was merely a league of States ranging in character from half-barbaric to civilized and refined. Over these difficulties of government a common language, common institutions, and a common spirit could not well prevail.

In the next place, the family of the Arsacidæ branched out into subordinate sovereignties, any one of which might aspire to the hegemony of the Empire. The Arsacid princes, in the second century B. C., felt no longer the strong tie of kindred. They were not sufficiently advanced in statesmanship to understand that the interests of each were subordinate to the interests of the dynasty as a whole. The diverse motherhood of the princes often aggra-

vated the existing condition; for when have the two mothers of the sons of a common father forborne to quarrel and hate and murder in the supposed interest of their own offspring?

Doubtless, moreover, there was, to a certain extent, a dynastic decay in the Arsacid family; but this was little noticeable in the general condition at the beginning of the third century. Artabanus fought valiantly, and was victorious over the Romans. Even after him Prince Artavasdes, who sought to shore up the falling monarchy, struggled hard to sustain the fortunes of his House. But the effort was in vain, and the Empire went down headlong to ruin, under the impact of the Persian Rebellion.

In the course of the present Book the reader's attention has been carried forward from the time of the destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great to the overthrow of the last of the Arsacid kings, and the revival of the Persian Power under Artaxerxes Ardishir, founder of the Sassanian Dynasty. He is now asked to retrace his course to the point of view which he occupied at the beginning; to stand again on the field of Arbela; to note from that point of observation the conquerors rather than the conquered; to cast his eye to the far West in the direction from which those conquerors came—to Macedonia, to the Ægean archipelago, to the main-land of ancient Hellas—and to take up, as his next great lesson in the progress of human history, the story of those Hellenic peoples, to whom, without reserve, the heroic praise may be accorded of the most intellectual, the most witty, the most fascinating, the most artistic, and the most poetic race of men.



FRIEZE OVER DOORWAY OF TEMPLE, HATRA. (After Ross.)

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Painted by E Klimsch. Etched by H.Pruett Shaw

SPORTS OF GREEK GIRLS

Book Fifth.

GREECE.

SPORTS OF GREEK GIRLS

This elegant etching by Pruett Share, from Klimsch's famous painting, gives a hint of the beauty and grace of the Grecian maidens, and of the pleasing art of their homes and surroundings. It was in ancient Greece that woman began to emerge from her primitive state as a chattel, to a recognized position alongside of man. History brings down to us from that period such well known names as Alcestis, Antigone, Penelope, Andromache, Helen, Damaineta, and the Spartan mothers.

[illegible] by the human race, [illegible] not given to the country [illegible], by whom the land [illegible] Hellas, and [illegible] Greece [illegible] use by the [illegible] reason adopted [illegible] the Greeks [illegible] Hellas [illegible] The [illegible] and [illegible] meridians two [illegible] east from [illegible] peninsula from [illegible] ernmost cape is two [illegible] and the breadth from [illegible] hundred and eighty [illegible] difficult of exact [illegible] fairly estimated at

[illegible] north [illegible] to west, [illegible] to the [illegible] of [illegible] Adriatic [illegible] of [illegible] only Greece Proper [illegible] also [illegible] west. The transverse range, which constitutes the fundamental fact in the general structure of the peninsula, is called the Pindus, which, starting from the southern slope of Olympus, stretches southward, and dividing and branching and sinking in elevation, straggles through the [illegible] and finally terminates in the cape or headland of Tenarus. Epirus and Thessaly in the north are thus divided by a lofty chain.

On the east side of Pindus, below Thessaly, the spur range of Othrys strikes off to the

SPORTS OF GREEK GIRLS

This elegant etching by Pruett Share, from Klimsch's famous painting, gives a hint of the beauty and grace of the Grecian maidens, and of the pleasing art of their homes and surroundings. Never in ancient Greece that woman began to emerge from her primitive state as a chattel to a recognized position alongside of man. History brings down to us from that period such well known names as Alcestis, Antigone, Penelope, Andromache, Helen, Damaneta, and the Spartan mothers.

Book Eighth.

GREECE.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—THE COUNTRY.

GREECE, the eastermost of the three peninsulas which from the south of Europe drop into the Mediterranean, was in her palmy days the scene of the most extraordinary activities ever displayed by the human race. The name GREECE was not given to the country by the Greeks themselves, by whom the land was immemorially called HELLAS, and themselves HELLENES. The words Greece and Greeks were brought into use by the writers of Rome, who for some reason adopted the name of the petty tribe called the *Græci* as an appellative of the whole race.

A sketch of a land so noted as Hellas can hardly fail of interest. The country lies between parallels thirty-six and forty of north latitude, and the meridians twenty-one and twenty-six of longitude east from Greenwich. The length of the peninsula from Mount Olympus to the southernmost cape is two hundred and fifty miles, and the breadth from Attica to Acarnania one hundred and eighty miles. The area—though difficult of exact determination—may be fairly estimated at thirty-four thousand square miles—a district but little larger than the State of Indiana; but this estimate does not include the many Greek islands, proximate or more remote from the main-land, which, inhabited by the same race and running the same course in history, might well be included in the aggregate measurement.

The peninsula is sharply defined on the north by the OLYMPIAN and CAMBUNIAN mountains. These have a general course from east to west, and extend from the Thermaic gulf to the promontory of Acroceraunia, on the Adriatic. But the country lying south of this range includes not only Greece Proper but also Epirus on the west. The transverse range, which constitutes the fundamental fact in the geological structure of the peninsula, is called the PINDUS, which, starting from the southern slope of Olympus, stretches southward, and dividing and branching and sinking in elevation, straggles through the Isthmus and finally terminates in the cape or headland of Tænarus. Epirus and Thessaly in the north are thus divided by a lofty chain.

On the east side of Pindus, below Thessaly, the spur-range of OTHRYS strikes off to the

coast, thus inclosing between itself and Olympus the Thessalian Plain. Further to the south the range called Œta departs to the east and reaches the sea at the Eubœan strait. At the eastern extreme of this elevation is the pass of Thermopylæ. From the branching off of Œta the Pindus chain begins to divide. One range stretches to the south-west across Ætolia, and descends to the level at the Gulf of Corinth. The other branch runs to the south-east, and numbers among its heights the famous peaks of Parnassus, Helicon, Cithæron, Ægaleus, and Hymettus. In Peloponnesus the descending heads of Pindus are known by the names of Olenus, Panachaicus, Pholoë, Erymanthus, Lycæus, Parrhasius, and Taygetus. It only remains to note that the eastern prolongation of Olympus is known as Ossa and Pelion. The range here drops away to the south-east of Thessaly, and after disappearing under the sea rises in the ridge of Eubœa, and then breaks into the Cyclades, of which Andros, Tenos, Myconos, Naxos, and many others are but the uplifted heads of submerged mountains. Taken all in all, Greece is, in respect of geological formation, one of the most mountainous countries in the world. The so-called "chains" which traverse the region south of Olympus are scarcely chains at all, but rather a mass of elevations branching off laterally and turning from their course until the whole land seems but a multitude of heights, promiscuously arranged, not very aspiring, sinking in green slopes to the level of the surrounding seas.

In such a country lakes and small rivers are likely to abound. Of the latter the Grecian streams most noted are, first, the Peneius, which drains the plain of Thessaly, and, carrying a considerable volume of water, makes its way between Ossa and Olympus into the Ægean sea. Next may be mentioned the Acheloös, which, taking its rise on the slopes of Pindus, divides Ætolia from Acarnania and falls into the sea of Ionia. The third is the Euenuus, also a stream from the side of Pindus, making its way into the same sea at a more easterly point of the coast. In Bœotia the two rivers are the Cephisus and the Asopus, neither of much importance, scarcely maintaining a flow of water during the summer. Through the state of Elis flows the Alpheius, which also drains Arcadia, being of a more respectable volume. In Messenia the principal stream is the Pamisus, which, though small, is perennial. Near Argos flows the Inachus, and Attica is watered by the Cephisus and the Ilissus, both scant in waters and by no means justifying the descriptions and poetical enthusiasm of the ancients.

Of these rivers the only one that carries down to its mouth a noticeable quantity of fertilizing material is the Acheloüs, which in high water lays a fair deposit on the valley-lands near the Ionian sea. A great majority of the streams which the Attic patriots honored with the name of "rivers" are little more than brooks, dry to the bottom during the hot months of summer.

Lakes, also, are a necessity of the conformation of the country. In many localities are natural basins compassed with hills, and in such situations, unless nature has provided a subterranean outlet, the waters gather, forming a marsh or lake. Of these there are two in Thessaly, the Nessonis and the Bœbeïs, both of considerable size. In the region between the rivers Acheloüs and Euenus lies Lake Trichonis, which appears to have been a more extensive body of water in ancient than in modern times. In Bœotia the river Cephisus forms, in one part of its course, an extensive marsh called Copaïs, and lakes Hylike and Harma are also found in the same state. The Copaïs is drained by a famous natural subterraneous channel known as the Katabothra, through which the overplus of waters found a way to the other side of the hills. Many other examples are found in different parts of Greece, especially in Peloponnesus, of a like contrivance of nature for the escape of confined bodies of water. The calcareous limestone of which the hills are mostly composed was specially favorable to the formation of such passages.

For the coast-line of Greece the geography of the world can scarcely present a parallel. Around the whole extent of the peninsula there seems to have been a war between sea and land as to which should more impenetrate

MAP IV.
ANCIENT GREECE.
From Thalheimer's Ancient History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 mls.
A. VON STEINWEHR, DEL.
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Sea of Crete
Thracian Sea
Propontis
Hellespont
Mt. Athos
Thasos I.
Samothrace
Lemnos
Imbros
Tenedos
Chryse
Lesbos
Methymna
Antissa
C. Sigrium
C. Lectum
Polynegos I.
Scandile I.
Scyros I.
Peparethus
C. Artemisium
C. Derrhis
C. Canastraeum
C. Posidium
Icus I.
Corcyra
Paxus
Leucas I.
Cephallenia I.
Ithaca I.
Zacynthus I.
C. Araxus
C. Taenarum
C. Malea
Cythera I.
Laconian B.
Oenussa I.
C. Acritas
Methone
Corinth
Isthmus of Corinth
Peloponnesus
Attica
ATHENS
Eleusis
Salamis
Aegina
Methana
C. Scyllaeum
Troezen
Hydrea
Phlius
Sicyon
Argos
Tiryns
Nauplia
Epidaurus
Asine
Gythium
Cranae
Sparta
Eurotas R.
Messenian B.
Taygetus Mt.
Cithaeron Mt.
Parnes Mt.
Parnassus Mt.
Helicon Mt.
Oeta Mt.
Pindus Mt.
Olympus Mt.
Ossa Mt.
Pelion Mt.
Thessaly
Macedonia
Thrace
Chalcidice
Pallene
Potidaea
Olynthus
Amphipolis
Argilus
Acanthus
Strymonian B.
Strymon R.
Nestus R.
Hebrus R.
Abdera
Maronea
Dicaea
Aenos
Melas R.
Melas B.
Cyzicus
Parium
Paesus
Priapus
Lampsacus
Abydus
Dardanus
Sestos
Elaeus
Chersonesus
Gallipoli
Aegospotami
Lysander's Camp
Alopeconnesus
Cardia
Lysimachia
Agora
Ganos
Heraclea
Perinthus
Selymbria
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Heraclaea Calchedon
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Prusias
Cius
Ancora
Besbicus I.
C. Posidium
Proconnesus
Cyzicus
Artace
Chelae
Bithynia
Asiacus
Mysia
Troas
Aeolis
Ionia
Lydia
Caria
Pisidia
Lycia
Cilicia
Pamphylia
Phrygia
Mysian Olympus
Abbasus
Adramyttium
Gulf of Adramyttium
Atarneus
Pitane
Gordius
Apollonia
Mandras
Derylaium
Cotyaeum
Temnus
Thyatira
Magnesia
Sardis
Tmolus Mt.
Phocaea
Psyra
Bolissus
Erythrae
Chios
C. Phanae
C. Caucasa
C. Corycium
Teos
Colophon
Ephesus
Samos
Miletus
Andros I.
Tenos I.
Gyaros I.
Cythnos I.
Syros I.
Myconus I.
Delos I.
Icaria I.
Patmos
Leros
Scriphos I.
Siphnos I.
Paros
Naxos
Ephyra I.
Melos I.
Thera I.
Amorgos
Astypalaea I.
Calymna
Cos
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Telos
Rhodes
Lindus
Ialysus
Camirus
Carpathus I.
Posidium
C. Ephialtium
Ixia
Syrnae Is.
C. Samonium
Itanus
Hierapytna
C. Criumetopon
C. Cimarus
C. Pasacum
C. Cyamon
Polyrrhenia
Cydonia
Cherronesus
Gortyna
C. Lisses
Xanthus
Patara
Myra
C. Hieron
Telmessus
Caunus
Cnidus
Halicarnassus
Mylasa
Tabae
Cibyra
Colossae
Cydara
Laodicea
Apamea Cibotus
Mordiaeum
Kumenbo
Segalassus
Cretopolis
Termessus
Sardis
Hermus R.
Caicus R.
Cayster R.
Maeander R.
Meander R.
Granicus R.
Rhyndacus R.
Aesepus R.
Scamander R.
Simois R.
Xanthus R.
Ida Mt.
Gargarus Mt.
Abbasus
Cyzicus
Artace
Chelae
Nicomedia
Nicaea
Prusias
Cius
Ancora
Besbicus I.
Proconnesus
Lysimachia
Agora
Ganos
Heraclea
Perinthus
Selymbria
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Heraclaea Calchedon
Bithynia
Asiacus
Mysia
Troas
Aeolis
Ionia
Lydia
Caria
Pisidia
Lycia
Cilicia
Pamphylia
Phrygia
Mysian Olympus
Abbasus
Adramyttium
Gulf of Adramyttium
Atarneus
Pitane
Gordius
Apollonia
Mandras
Derylaium
Cotyaeum
Temnus
Thyatira
Magnesia
Sardis
Tmolus Mt.
Phocaea
Psyra
Bolissus
Erythrae
Chios
C. Phanae
C. Caucasa
C. Corycium
Teos
Colophon
Ephesus
Samos
Miletus
Andros I.
Tenos I.
Gyaros I.
Cythnos I.
Syros I.
Myconus I.
Delos I.
Icaria I.
Patmos
Leros
Scriphos I.
Siphnos I.
Paros
Naxos
Ephyra I.
Melos I.
Thera I.
Amorgos
Astypalaea I.
Calymna
Cos
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Telos
Rhodes
Lindus
Ialysus
Camirus
Carpathus I.
Posidium
C. Ephialtium
Ixia
Syrnae Is.
C. Samonium
Itanus
Hierapytna
C. Criumetopon
C. Cimarus
C. Pasacum
C. Cyamon
Polyrrhenia
Cydonia
Cherronesus
Gortyna
C. Lisses
Xanthus
Patara
Myra
C. Hieron
Telmessus
Caunus
Cnidus
Halicarnassus
Mylasa
Tabae
Cibyra
Colossae
Cydara
Laodicea
Apamea Cibotus
Mordiaeum
Kumenbo
Segalassus
Cretopolis
Termessus
Sardis
Hermus R.
Caicus R.
Cayster R.
Maeander R.
Meander R.
Granicus R.
Rhyndacus R.
Aesepus R.
Scamander R.
Simois R.
Xanthus R.
Ida Mt.
Gargarus Mt.

the other. All the way around, from the Thermaïc Gulf to the borders of Epirus, is an almost continued succession of peninsulas and bays. Sometimes, as in the case of the great island Eubœa, the sea is completely victorious, and a portion of the shore is cut off by straits and channels. Again, as on the west of Peloponnesus, the land for a distance presents a tolerably regular outline of coast. Notably, however, near the middle—in the waist, as it were, of her body—is Greece almost divided. Here, on the east the Saronic Gulf running up under Attica, and on the west the Gulf of Corinth, press inland towards each other until only a narrow barrier of rocky isthmus remains between. So nearly does Peloponnesus come to being an island. Thus by a long and infinitely varied coast-line was laid in nature the antecedent of the maritime supremacy of the Greeks.

The general division into a NORTHERN, a CENTRAL, and a SOUTHERN GREECE is most obviously marked in the geographical features of the peninsula. The part of the country which lies between the Corinthian Gulf and the Olympian mountains is subdivided into two parts by the approximation of the Ambracian and Maliac gulfs. A line drawn from the one to the other constitutes the lower, as the fortieth parallel constitutes the upper, boundary of Northern Greece. From the line of the two gulfs to the Isthmus of Corinth is Central Greece; while Southern Greece is obviously conterminous with the Peloponnesus.

It will be seen at a glance that the northern division of the country, as here defined, includes Thessaly and Epirus, but excludes Macedonia. The latter is a country of highlands, entirely different in characteristics from the regions lying to the south. It consists in large part of circular valleys hemmed in by ranges of hills, with few slopes towards the sea; while, on the other hand, Greece Proper, though mountainous to the extent of secluding in a great measure the districts from each other, tends in nearly all parts to the shore.

It will readily be inferred, from the geographical conditions here presented, that the climate of Greece is exceedingly varied. Such is true to an astonishing degree. Beginning at the north, next the range of Olympus, and proceeding to the south, first into the valleys of Central Greece and thence into Peloponnesus, there is presented to the traveler almost every variety of atmospheric condition. The general aspect of nature changes like the scenes of a panorama, until almost every disposition and hue of her wealth, and even of her caprice, has been displayed.

Passing from Northern to Central Greece, a new order of structure is observed. The landscape becomes more complex. The mountains in many parts fall into hilly ranges. The country is described by Curtius as "so manifoldly broken up that it becomes a succession of peninsulas connected with one another by isthmuses." In the western part, Mount Tymphrestus rises to a height of more than seven thousand feet, and the range of Parnassus reaches a still greater elevation in the eastern portion of the peninsula.

In Peloponnesus still greater changes are observed. Here, around a kind of center in the state of Arcadia, arise high bulwarks with spurs projecting from every slope into the surrounding districts—Messenia, Laconia, Argolis. Some of the scenery is Alpine in its wildness. The eye is surprised in every part by striking landscapes, secluded spots of beauty, marvelous contrasts of hill and wood and valley. It is, however, in considering the political divisions of Greece, that the marked local peculiarities of the land may be best presented.

Ancient Greece was divided into a multitude of states, the foundations of which were laid in nature. In other countries lines have been drawn, for mere convenience of government, between province and province. In Greece the lines were laid when the peninsula was thrown into form. Beginning next the Olympian range we have in Northern Greece the two extensive states of THESSALY and EPIRUS. They are, as already said, divided from each other by the range of Pindus. The former is the largest political division of all Greece. It lies from north to south between the Cambunian mountains and

Thermopylæ, and stretches east and west from the Pindus slope to the Ægean. The greater part of the country is a plain, which, at its north-easternmost extremity, is broken by the Vale of Tempe, celebrated from remote antiquity as one of the most lovely spots of earth, a sylvan solitude, a chosen haunt of Apollo. The Thessalian plain was the largest productive district in Greece, and was greatly prized for its agricultural resources. It was thought by the inhabitants to have been in former times the bed of a lake, having its outflow through the Peneus, whose sinking channel gradually drained it into the sea. Thessaly was subdivided into four provinces, known by the names of Thessalaotis, Hestiæotis, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis—a division retained until a late date in Grecian history.

Epirus was in geographical position most remote, in extent second, and in character most barbarous of all the states of Greece. It was bounded on the east by Pindus, on the north by Illyria, on the west by the Ionian sea, and on the south by Ætolia, Arcarnania, and the Ambracian Gulf. Its two rivers were the Acheron and the Cocytus. The country was rugged and less attractive than most of the other states, and was by the Greeks themselves regarded as a kind of foreign region inhabited by people of another race. The things for which Epirus was most noted was Dodona with her oaks and the ancient oracle of Jupiter; Canope and Buthrotum, with their harbors; Ambracia, the capital of King Pyrrhus; and Nicopolis, built by Augustus Cæsar, in commemoration of his victory at Actium. The Epirotes had some share in the stirring history of Greece, but are generally disparaged by the Greek historians.

Passing into Central Greece, we find in the eastern half the states of Doris, Phocis, Locris, Malis, Bœotia, Attica, and Megaris; and in the western half Acarnania, Ætolia, and Ozolian Locris. Doris was in the heart of the country, and was the smallest state of all Greece. It was bounded on the east by Phocis, on the south by Ozolian Locris, on the west by Ætolia, and on the north by Malis. To the westward rose Mount Œta. The whole district was mountainous, and it was not in nature that it should contain a great civilization. Nevertheless, the part which the Dorians played in Grecian history was sufficiently conspicuous to make their country an object of interest.

The state of Phocis was bounded on the north by Locris, on the east by Bœotia, on the south by the Corinthian Gulf, and on the west by Ozolian Locris. At one point it reached the brine, in the channel of Eubœa, and possessed the harbor of Daphnus. The surface of the country is exceedingly mountainous, being traversed by the range of Parnassus. South of this chain are several fertile districts, the most extensive being the plain of Crissæa. The principal river is the Cephissus, which in a considerable part of its course forms an exuberant valley. The most striking of the local interests which, during the Grecian ascendency, and indeed ever since, have attracted the attention of mankind, were the city and oracle of Delphi, the latter being the most famous seat of alleged inspiration in the world.

Locris, in the most ancient times, extended across the entire peninsula from the Corinthian gulf to the strait of Eubœa. By the encroachments of the Phocians and the Dorians, however, the state was cut in two, the central part being appropriated by the conquerors. The Locrians were thus confined to two narrow districts, both maritime; the eastern or Locris Proper, lying upon the strait, and the western or Ozolian Locris, being on the gulf of Corinth. The former extended along the coast from the Pass of Thermopylæ to the mouth of the Cephissus, and had the same general character as Phocis, which bounded it on the south. The Ozolian Locris, bordering the gulf, was a rugged and somewhat barren country, one of the poorest in Central Greece. The name Ozolæ, or *Stinkards*, was given to the people from the fetid odors of the sulphur springs which abounded in several parts. The principal towns were Naupactus and Eupalium.

The small state of Malis is sometimes omitted from the political geography of Greece, but should be included. It lay immediately north of Doris, and at the western

extreme of the Malian gulf. The little district so named produced no important effect upon the course of Grecian history, nor were there either Malian cities or citizens of such note as to attract the applause of their boisterous countrymen.

Not so, however, of the state of BŒOTIA. Bounded on one side by the channel of Eubœa and on the other by the Corinthian gulf, lying between Attica at the extreme of the peninsula and Phocis on the north-west, this country held a position in every way favorable for a large influence in the affairs of Greece. Geographically, Bœotia is a sort of basin, surrounded by the ranges of Cithæron and Parnes on the south, Helicon on the west, Parnassus on the north-west, and the Opuntian chain on the east. Within this basin lies Lake Copaïs, forty-seven miles in circumference, formed, as hitherto said, by the overflowing of the river Cephissus; also the plain of Thebes, and the valley of Asopus.

Of all the Grecian commonwealths the most important was ATTICA. The name means the *Shore* or *Coast*. The land so called was the extremity or foot of the long peninsula which constitutes the eastern part of Central Greece. In shape it is a triangle, bounded on the north-west by Bœotia, on the east by the Ægean, on the south-west by the Saronic gulf and Megaris. The area of the country is eight hundred and forty square miles, and yet in this small district were exhibited the most marvelous energies ever displayed by the human mind. In Attica several mountain ranges sink down to the coast. Several plains, as the Eleusinian, the Athenian, the Mesogæan, and the Paralian, intervene between the hill-ranges or along the shore. The first named contained the sacred city of Eleusis. The second was watered by the two principal rivers of Attica, the Cephissus and the Ilissus, both insignificant streams, sinking into dry beds in summer. Attica was the native seat of the Ionic race, and at a very early date attained a precedence among the Hellenic commonwealths, which she held alike by prowess in battle and the acuteness of her people.

From the instep of the Attican peninsula and extending across through a narrowing isthmus into Peloponnesus, was the little state of MEGARIS. The boundaries on the north were Attica and Bœotia; on the south, the sea; on the west, the Corinthian gulf. The whole area is but one hundred and forty-three square miles. The surface is rugged and hilly. The principal mountain is Cithæron, which rises on the border of Bœotia. Across the southern part of Megaris from sea to sea extends the Geranean chain, through which three passes afford land routes from Central Greece into Peloponnesus. The first is the Scironian pass close to the Saronic gulf, which is the direct road from Corinth to Athens. The second is near the Corinthian gulf, and leads from Peloponnesus into Bœotia. The third was about the center of the range, and as a thoroughfare had a less importance than the other two, which at their northern termini reached into the open country. Megaris contained but one small plain, and in that was situated the metropolis of the state. In the earliest times this district was considered a part of Attica, being then inhabited by Æolians and Ionians.

Passing into the western half of Central Greece, we come to ÆTOLIA, situated on the north shore of the gulf of Corinth. It was bounded on the east by Doris and Locris, and on the west by Acarnania. At its southern extremity it is divided by a narrow strait from Peloponnesus. On the north lay the district inhabited by the Dolopes. The principal river was a small stream called the Evenus, now the Fidhari. Ætolia was a rough region, larger than most of the states of Greece, but so little civilized as compared with those on the eastern shore as to perform but a minor part in Grecian history. Not until the times of Alexander did the Ætolians begin to display the energy of character for which their countrymen were so greatly distinguished afterwards.

The remaining Greek state north of the Corinthian gulf was ACARNANIA. On the east lay Ætolia, on the north the Ambracian gulf, on the west and south the Ionian sea. Like most of the other districts, the surface is mountainous, but presents considerable variety

of lake and valley and pasture. In character both the country and its inhabitants resembled Epirus with her half-savage tribes of semi-Grecians. The Acarnanians were for the most part a race of shepherds, who at times abandoned their pastures for the chase and war. At no time in their history—their peninsular position with the presence of good harbors seemed to suggest maritime enterprise—did they engage to any considerable extent in commercial pursuits. Like the Epirotes, they were somewhat contemptuously regarded by the more civilized states of the eastern coast, and were not much consulted in the great transactions of Grecian history.

PELOPONNESUS—meaning "the Island of King Pelops," by whom, according to tradition, the country was colonized—has an area of a little more than eight thousand square miles. It has the general shape of a maple leaf, the stem resting at Ægium, on the Gulf of Corinth. The country was divided politically into eleven states: Corinth, Sicyonia, Achaia, Elis, Arcadia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, Epidauria, Trœzenia, and Hermionis.

The first two, CORINTH and SICYONIA, were small districts on the east and west sides of the isthmus. They were so named from their principal cities, and embraced merely the surrounding plains and hills to the extent of a few hundred square miles of territory. In later times they were both regarded as included in the large state of ARGOLIS. EPIDAURIA, likewise, lying on the Saronic Gulf, was but the small district surrounding the city of Epidaurus, near the coast. This, too, was embraced in the territory of the Argives. The lower extreme of the same peninsula received the local name of HERMIONIS from the town of Hermione, which gave it its only importance.

The state of ACHAIA extended along the greater part of the northern coast of Peloponnesus, resting for sixty-five miles on the Corinthian Gulf. It was that part of the maple leaf which supported the stem. It had the general character of the other districts already described, being hilly and rugged, with occasional pastures intervening. The most important town was Patræ, which, under the name of Patras, is still known in Grecian geography. The country was first settled by the Ionians, but these were dispossessed by the Achæans, on the occasion of the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.

ELIS lay on the Ionian Sea, from the promontory of Araxus to the river Neda. Its greatest breadth was thirty-five miles, and its area about one thousand square miles. The mountains in this western part of Southern Greece fall away in slopes to the sea, and Elis presents, for a country so limited in extent, a considerable amount of level land. The city of Elis occupied the largest plain, between the Alpheus and the Peneus rivers. The north-eastern portion, however, was as mountainous as any other district in the country.

ARCADIA was the only state of Southern Greece which had no sea-coast. Next to Laconia, it was the largest division of Peloponnesus, having an area of one thousand seven hundred square miles. Of all Greece this was the most picturesque region, nor would it be easy to find its parallel in the world. It was a country of mountains and forests and meadow-lands, fountains and water-brooks, glens and grottoes. Here rise Mounts Cyllene, Lycæus, and Erymanthus. Here the river Alpheus gathers its waters, and here Lake Stymphalis spreads its crystal sheet. Everywhere the eye is delighted with that endless vicissitude of beauty which never tires and never cloys. Without seaports, the country had no commercial enterprise.

The ancient inhabitants were Pelasgians, a race of rough shepherds and hunters, who were with difficulty transformed into more civilized conditions. They were, nevertheless, a peaceable, quiet tribe, given to music and dancing. It thus happened that in all polite languages of modern times the term "Arcadian" has come to signify either beauty of natural scenery or rusticity of manners. In the epoch of Greek heroism the inhabitants of this state became a brave and martial people, but none of their captains achieved in the field a great military fame. The four principal cities of Arcadia were Mantinea, Tegea, Archomenus, and Megalopolis, the

latter being built as a defense against the Spartans. The first three never rose to great importance, chiefly because of intestine disputes and quarrels, which, frequently amounting to violence, destroyed their prosperity.

To the south-west of Arcadia, washed on two sides by the sea, lay MESSENIA. Here, too, is a region of mountains. Only two plains of any importance are embraced within the territory. Of these the southern was called Macaria, meaning the *Blessed*, so named from its exuberance and beauty. Some of the valleys further inland are also exceedingly fertile, and the climate, being one of the mildest in the world, would have made life in this region present a benign aspect, but for the native boorishness of the original population and the oppressions of the Spartans.

Among the Messenian cities the principal were the seaport town of Pylos, Cyparissia, Corone, Methone, Abia, Deræ, Stenyclarus, and Messene, the capital. Besides these towns there were two important mountain fortresses, Ithome and Ira, the former being regarded as the stronghold of the nation. In the revolutions of the country the population of Messenia was twice transformed, first from Argives to Æolians, and then from Æolians to Dorians, who came in with the ascendency of their race in Peloponnesus. Messenia was in the course of her history the scene of some most heroic struggles, in which her own people and the Spartans were the principal actors.

LACONIA was the south-easternmost division of the ancient Peloponnesus. It was the largest state of Southern Greece, and, historically considered, by far the most important. It was bounded on the north by Arcadia and Argolis, on the east and south by the sea, on the west by the gulf and state of Messenia. At the lower extremity the country divides into two branching peninsulas, including between them the Gulf of Laconia, and terminating in the two capes of Tænarum and Malea, the most southern points of land in Europe. Within the limits of Arcadia the most important region is a long valley inclosed on three sides by mountain ranges and open on the south to the sea. There is thus prepared and fortified by nature that wonderful district in which Sparta had her native lair. Across the north of this valley stretch the Arcadian mountains, from which two ranges branching southward defend the two sides of the Spartan glen from almost every possibility of assault. These two lateral chains are known as Taygetus and Parnon, the former rising to the height of seven thousand nine hundred feet, and the latter to an elevation of six thousand three hundred and fifty feet. On the slopes of these mountains are forests of pine, evergreen, abounding in game, haunts of the huntress Diana. The valley is drained by the river Eurotas, famous in song and story. Into this stream smaller brooks, flowing down from the slopes of Taygetus and Parnon, pour their waters, forming an ever-increasing volume to the sea. On the banks of this river stood the invincible capital, known by its two names of LACEDÆMON and SPARTA—a town which has given to the valor of the world an imperishable epithet. A few others of smaller note were Amyclæ in the plain south of Sparta, the old residence of the Achæan kings; Helos, from which rose the Helots, situated on the gulf of Laconia; and Gythium, a naval station on the same coast. In the valley of the Eurotas there were considerable tracts of land susceptible of cultivation, but the soil was not sufficiently fertile to encourage husbandry.

The remaining state of Southern Greece was ARGOLIS, lying between the Argolic and Saronic gulfs. On the west it was bounded by Achaia and Arcadia; on the south the land limit was Laconia. With the exception of the fertile plain of Argos the whole country is mountainous, some of the summits rising to the height of more than five thousand feet. Two small rivers, the Planitza and the Erasinus, are the only perennial streams. The coast is indented with many bays, rendering Argolis especially favorable to navigation and commerce. The state is one of the most ancient in the whole peninsula. In the earliest epochs of history the term Argive was often used synonymously with Greek, such usage extending even into the poems of Vergil. Argolis was divided into six petty king-

doms, Argos, Mycenæ, Tiryus, Trœzenia, Hermionis, and Epidaurus. By and by Argos became the leader, and absorbed all the rest. The names of these petty principalities, or rather of the cities which constituted their nuclei, will readily be recognized as those of the famous sites from which in our own day the antiquarian Schliemann has exhumed such priceless treasures illustrative of the history of the ancient Greeks. Argolis contains the larger portion of those marvelous ruins to which archæologists have given the name Cyclopean—a mass of huge walls of unhewn stone, laid without cement, said in legend to have been the work of the gigantic Cyclops, sons of Heaven and Earth.

Such, then, is a general sketch of the geography, physical and political, of ancient Greece. It will readily be seen that the country was formed for a multitude of segregated communities. In no other region of the world are the natural indications so deeply laid for petty states. The hills and mountains are just of such height and character as to break up all attempts at political centralization. Such a thing as unity was impossible in a race so situated. In many parts the people on opposite sides of a range were strangers for generations together. Local patriotism kindled a torch in every valley, and around its flame of light and heat were gathered the affections of a clan. Beyond the hill-tops there was nothing but distrust, aversion, hatred. It thus came to pass that the Greek communities were individualized to an extent unknown, perhaps impossible, among the great nations of the plain. In such a situation faction would prevail, politics become a profession, freedom the rule. The presence of a centralized despotism in ancient Greece would have been as much of an anomaly as a modern monarchy established among the solitude and snow-capped summits of the Swiss Alps.

It is not the place in this connection to do more than merely note the fact that in the broken and multiplex aspect and physical conditions of Greece were also laid the foundations of the wonderfully inflected mythology and matchless art of the race. The human mind here found itself under circumstances of such infinite variety that the interpretation and representation of nature flashed into forms as variable as the caprices of the kaleidoscope. Further on, considering the philosophy, mythology, and art of the Greeks, there will be necessarily a more amplified statement of these views. For the present it may suffice to add that in ancient Greece the conditions of beauty, whether in sky, or earth, or sea, were more abundant and intense than in any other country. The faculties and perceptions of the people were thus stimulated into a class of activities—the history, the poem, the oration, the subtle analysis of thought—in excess of what has been elsewhere accomplished even to the present time.

The traveler, the poet of to-day catches at once the indefinable charm which the bounty of nature has never withdrawn from the region between Olympus and the sea. Even the morose Childe Harold feels the warmth of a new inspiration under the cloudless heaven of Greece:

Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild;
Sweet are thy groves and verdant are thy fields,
Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,
And still his honeyed wealth Hymettus yields;
There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
The freeborn wanderer of thy mountain air;
Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
Still in his beam Mendeli's marbles glare;
Art, glory, freedom fail, but Nature still is fair.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—THE PEOPLE.

AS already said in the preceding chapter, the people known as Greeks were by themselves called HELLENES—the descendants of Hellen, their ancestor. Though a primitive people, they were by no means as remote in their origin and development as were many nations of the East. Indeed, it is safe to say that the Hellenes were among the *younger* races who contributed to form the population of Old Europe, and that, as compared in age with the peoples of the Nile and Euphrates valleys, they were as of yesterday in their origin and development.

When the Phœnicians, themselves of Semitic descent, had peopled the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and begun their maritime discoveries, they came first of all upon Cyprus, and then by easy stages among the Cyclades. From one of these islands to the next was but a step until the south-eastern promontories of the main-land of Hellas were reached. In all the little isles anchored in these beautiful waters a people were found, numerous, active, well-formed, light-complexioned, quick to appreciate the advantages of commerce. Thus was opened up an acquaintance between the great maritime nation of the eastern Mediterranean and the Greek populations of the Ægean islands and the main peninsula of Hellas. In the further extension of their commerce it was found by the Phœnicians that a people of the same race occupied the shores of Asia Minor. These were the IONIANS, who, like the Phœnicians, were expert sailors, devoted to commerce and adventure.

These Ionian or Asiatic Hellenes were the oldest of the Greek populations. By them it was that bands of their countrymen, carried to the west, came upon the islands of the Cyclades and finally into Hellas, finding there others of their race already established. Thus it was that the Ionians became competitors of the Phœnicians in a half-friendly contest for a predominant influence in the islands of the Ægean and even in Greece Proper.

If we consult the Greeks themselves with regard to their origin, we receive ambiguous answers. In the first place they held strenuously to the tradition that they were *autochthones*, that is, born of the earth. There was no myth of a settlement by immigrant tribes from abroad. Their ancestors had always abode in Hellas from the time when Earth gave them birth. On the other hand, there were traditions in almost every state of Greece that the beginnings of arts and institutions had been brought in by illustrious foreigners, whose supernatural wisdom furnished a basis of social life. All of these wise strangers came from over sea, bringing from distant shores the dawn of civilization. Such legends are substantiated, moreover, by the Greek theology; for all of the gods of Hellas were the deities of foreign lands disguised in the fine drapery of Greek thought.[1] Nor is it conceivable that a foreign pantheon should thus have been established but by migrating tribes who brought with them their gods from distant homes.

The science of language has within the present century clearly determined the race-position of the Greeks. They belonged to the Aryan or Indo-European family of men, being thus allied with the Hindus, Medes, and Persians of Asia, and the Latin, Celtic, and Teutonic races in Europe. As already said, the tribal home of this wide-branching tree of human life appears to have been in the country of Bactria; but at what particular point in the tribal migrations the Hellenic stock

[1] The historian Curtius makes an exception of Zeus, whom he regards as native to the Greek imagination; but recent investigations in philology have established beyond doubt the identity of Zeus Pater with the Dyaus Pitar of the Vedic pantheon.

took its rise, it is perhaps impossible to determine. Be that as it may, the first formal developments of the Greek race into organized communities took place on the coasts of Asia Minor, looking out towards the Ægean. The people thus established flowed from the same source as did others who occupied the Sporades, and the Cyclades, and finally the whole of peninsular Hellas. All that may be certainly affirmed is that, regarding as Greek the whole community around the Ægean Sea, the eastern portions were settled first, the wave of population swelling westward into Hellas Proper and onward to the shores of the Ionian Sea.

Leaving, then, the matter of the prehistoric migrations as undetermined, and taking up the traditions of the Greeks regarding their ancestry, we have the well-known legend of their father HELLEN. He was the reputed son of Deucalion and Pyrrha. From him came all the Hellenes. He had three sons, DORUS, XUTHUS, and ÆOLUS, of whom the first and the last gave their names to their descendants, the Dorians and Æolians. Xuthus, like Joseph among the Israelites, founded no tribe himself, but his two sons, ION and ACHÆUS, became the head of the Ionians and the Achæans. Thus by tradition we have an account rendered of the four leading divisions of the Greek race. Nor was there ever any doubt among the Hellenes themselves of the accuracy of this matter-of-fact genealogy, which they received from their fathers. But the device of primitive nations in coining personal names as the explanation of the beginnings of their nationality is now well understood, and the easy-going story of Hellen and his sons signifies no more than that the Hellenes first awoke to tribal consciousness at the foot of Mount Othrys, where Hellen was said to have had his home; and the migration of his sons from the borders of Thessaly simply implies an attempt of some vigorous imagination to account for the presence in different parts of Greece of the Dorians, Æolians, Ionians, and Achæans.

The tradition goes on to elaborate. Æolus succeeded his father in Thessaly. But his multiplied descendants spread southward as far as the Isthmus of Corinth. Afterwards they peopled the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos, and founded on the coast of Asia Minor a group of cities known as the Æolian Confederacy. Of their dialect Greek literature has preserved but a few fragments, and these indicate an affinity with Doric rather than Attic Greek.

The race of Dorus appeared first in Macedonia, then made migrations, spread as far as the island of Crete, where they founded Tetrapolis, and then into Peloponnesus, where they became predominant in the three states of Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. In manners and life the Dorians were sedate, dignified, and grave as compared with the other peoples of Greece, often displaying both in their deeds and institutions a severity in marked contrast with the milder habits of the Ionians. They spoke a less refined dialect, characterized by broad vowels and rough combinations of consonant sounds, and were a people of rude address, little given to speech.

The Ionians were the maritime branch of the Hellenic race. They had their original seats on the coast of Asia Minor, and from thence spread into the western islands. They were predominant throughout the Ægean, and were, as indicated alike by tradition and language, the oldest of the Greek tribes. The name of their reputed ancestor, Ion, seems to be associated with the Hebrew Javan, the Persian Yauna, the Egyptian Uinim, and the Indian Yonas—all names of mythical ancestors. It was these Ionian Greeks who at a very early date became first the rivals and then the superiors of the Phœnicians in the commerce of the Ægean and eastern Mediterranean. It was they who spread all around the shores of those waters, establishing colonies and trading posts at suitable stations, or sometimes in the heart of great cities, as in Alexandria and Memphis. It was they who constituted the body of that Greek population in the towns of Asia Minor, to whom reference has many times been made in the History of the Persian Empire.

The ACHÆANS had their native seat in Thessaly. Of all the Greek stocks they were the rudest. They were among the oldest of

the tribes and took so prominent a part in the Trojan war as to give their name, even in Homer, to the whole body of the Hellenes. It is evident that during the Heroic Period they were the dominant race in Greece, and contributed greatly to the warlike fame which for hundreds of years made Greek and victor synonymous.

Although the Greeks regarded themselves as autochthones, or indigenous to Hellas, yet they conceded to another people priority of occupation, at least in certain parts of the country. These were the PELASGIANS, of whose original seats history is still in doubt. It is certain, however, that in Attica, Argolis, Arcadia, Epirus, and several other parts of Greece, this people was established and civilized before the Hellenes took possession. It is said that the primitive name of the whole country was Pelasgia, and it is known that this race were distributed as far west as Italy, forming, in a sense, the bottom population of that country as well as of Greece. Nor do the Pelasgians appear to have been a people very dissimilar to the Greeks who displaced them. Their religion was similar to that of the Hellenes. Their chief god was Jove, to whom in Dodona the famous shrine was erected, which retained its reputation during the whole period of the Grecian ascendency. To what extent this people was driven out or extinguished, and to what extent incorporated with the conquering Hellenes, it is impossible to tell; but it is not unlikely that a large per cent of the primitive inhabitants were allowed to remain in a subject condition, and were gradually absorbed by the dominant Greeks.

Much space might be devoted to the personal character of the Hellenes. Their qualities of body and mind were such as to fix upon them the attention of their own and after times. In stature they were rather below than above the average of ancient peoples. They had not the height of the barbarians or the muscular development of the Assyrians and Romans. It was rather in symmetrical activity than in massiveness or gigantic proportions that they surpassed the other races of their times. In beauty of body they were peerless. In agility and nervous vigor they were the finest specimens of men that the world has produced. Not that hardiness and endurance were wanting. Not that the bodily life of the Greek was tender and unable to endure. Not that he was more susceptible to hardships and exposure, less able to endure fatigue and combat exhaustion: for his body was capable of a discipline and consequent endurance rarely equaled, never surpassed, in the ancient world. But he was more *alive* in his physical being, more highly developed, more complete in his nervous structure, than any other man of antiquity.

It was, moreover, in this high-wrought, perfectly finished physical manhood of the Greek that were laid the foundations of his wonderful mind, of his energy of thought, his reason, his imagination, his courage. Not only in the order of the world is the physical man planted in nature, not only is he, so to speak, an indigenous shoot of his native soil, drawing his saps and juices from that fecundity which is prepared by sun and air and rain, but the roots of the mental man are in like manner planted in his physical nature, drawing therefrom the sustenance of thought, the elements of combination, the juices of reason and imagination, the sap of hope or despair. In his perfect body the Greek had the foundation of his strength. Nature here, under the free law of natural selection, wrought out a finer organism than in other regions where her resources were fewer, her energies trammeled with restrictions. In Greece she accomplished the finest Motherhood of Man ever presented. In the Greek, with his fair complexion, blue eyes, beautiful body, and radiant face, she held aloft the best gift of her abundant love.

No other people, indeed, were ever gifted with so great personal beauty as the Hellenes, and no others ever so much adored the gift. At festivals and in public processions the fairest was the first. Prizes were given to the handsomest man, the most beautiful woman. In the Greek town of Segesta, in Sicily, a temple was built and sacrifices offered to her who was adjudged most beautiful. The homage thus paid to personal comeliness was sincere and universal.

The climate of Greece, free from extremes of heat and cold, coöperated with the habits of the people to produce perfect symmetry of form and feature. Solon, speaking with pride of the youth of his country, says: "They have a manly look, are full of spirit, fire, and vigor; neither dry and withered, nor heavy and unwieldy, but of a form at once graceful and strong. They have worked and sweated off all superfluous flesh, and only retained what is pure, firm, and healthy. This perfection they could not attain without those physical exercises and the regimen that accompanies them."

The men of Greece, though not above the medium height, were graceful and vigorous. Their chests were arched, their limbs straight, their carriage erect and indicative of great agility. The complexion was fair, but not white; for the Eastern origin of the race, combining in influence with the constant outdoor exercise and the free exposure of their bodies to the air and sun gave a tinge of bronze to the person which was admired rather than avoided. The neck was round and beautifully molded, and on this was set a head which for symmetry and proportion has never been equaled. The nose descended in a straight line with the forehead, and the lips were full of expression. The chin was strong and round, but not unduly prominent. The whole form and features glowed with an intellectual and spiritual life—an ideal expressiveness which shone upon the beholder like the sunlight.

The female face and figure were still more elevated and refined. Here nature surpassed all art and gave to the world an imperishable ideal. The hands and feet of Greek women were modeled to the finest proportions of which conception or fancy are capable. The face was full of grace and modesty. The original type was a dark-blonde, the hair auburn, the eyes blue; and this type was maintained until intercourse with surrounding nations and the intermixture of foreigners from every city of the civilized world modified the features and complexion and brought into favor other styles of beauty. It was the Greek maiden and mother, with their native charms and graces, that gave to the art of ancient Europe those classic models which have been, and are likely ever to remain, the inspiration and the despair of the chisels and brushes of the modern world. Not only the men and women of Athens thus surpassed in strength and loveliness of person, but the people of the other Greek states as well entered into the rivalry of beauty. The girls of Bœotia were as much praised for their comely grace as were those of Attica; and for the women of Thebes artists and poets alike were wont to claim a superiority of loveliness over all the daughters of Hellen. Nor should failure be made to mention the maidens of Ionia, who, alike in the royal courts of the East and in the free vales of the West, were regarded as bearing from an easy contest the palm of matchless beauty.

In mental qualities the Hellenes were still more strongly discriminated from the other peoples of antiquity. They had courage of the highest order. Nothing could daunt or dispirit the Greek. When aroused he went to war. Perhaps the cause was not worthy of the combat, but being offended, he fought. Arming himself with the best implements of war which an unscientific age could afford, he sought his enemy to slay or be slain. When a Greek fled the law of nature was suddenly reversed, and the clouds smiled at a caprice so exceptional as to be ridiculous! As a general rule his courage in battle was a thing so business-like and matter-of-course as to appear natural and inevitable. Before the career of his race was half run the enemy who stood before him in fight expected to be killed out of the nature of the thing. In the midst of the struggle his valor was first sublime and then savage; rarely cruel. To be brave was to be Grecian, and not to fight when insulted or wronged, even in trifles, was so little Greek as to be regarded a stigma in any son of Hellen who thus shamed his race.

In intellectual qualities, properly so-called, the Greek had an easy precedence of any and all competitors in the ancient world. If the word *man* be really derived from the Sanskrit root *to think*, then indeed was the Greek the highest order of man. He could think, com-

bine, reason. He could formulate and express his thoughts with a clearness and cogency never surpassed. He could excogitate, imagine. In an age when the coarser senses and more brutal instincts of human nature were rampant and lay like an incubus on the spiritual faculties of man, the Greek mind rose like a lily above the pond. It opened its waxen cup. It gathered the dews. It drank the sunlight by day and the starlight by night. It gave its fragrance first to its own place and then to all the world, and then bequeathed its imperishable beauties and perfume to the immortality of art.

Out of the mind of the Greek were produced the loftiest concepts of philosophy. In a time of universal darkness there was light in Hellas. It is not intended in this connection to sketch an outline of the work done by the great thinkers of Athens. That will appear in another part. From the streets of that city, from her walks, her groves, her Academy, a luminous effulgence has been shed into all the world. In the highest seats of modern learning the reasoning of Plato and the formulæ of Aristotle still in some measure hold dominion over the acutest intellects of the world. Nor is it likely that the truth which they evolved from their capacious understanding will ever be restated in a form more acceptable and attractive to the human mind than that to which themselves gave utterance. They are to-day in all the world,

"The dead but sceptered sovereigns who still rule
Our spirits from their urns."

Besides the general intellectual superiority of the Greeks they possessed certain peculiarities of mind for which they were specially noted. They were witty. However wit may be defined, the Hellenes had it. They were able to discover far-fetched analogies. They could juxtaposit the heterogeneous and produce an electrical shock by the touch of contradictories. They liked that flash of light which scorches its victim. The paradox was always a generous nut to the Greek who found it. To him the bitterly ridiculous was better than a jewel of fine gold. An impossible verity was his delight. A pungent untruth made true or a luminous and startling lie was to him a joy forever. A joke, even at the expense of the gods, was better than the richest banquet flowing with wine.

Then came subtlety, leading to craft in action. All the fine lines of possibility in a fact and its relations were discovered by the Greek intellect as if by intuition. To perceive with delicacy the exact conditions of the thing considered—an impossible task to the sluggish perceptions of most of the peoples of antiquity—was to the Greek but a process of healthful exercise. He knew more than his enemy. He beat him and laughed at him. He was the most capable animal of all antiquity. He was Reynard in the ancient Kingdom of the Beasts. He planned and contrived while others slept. His were the trick and the stratagem. He held up a false appearance, and smiled at his foe for being fool enough to believe it real. He found more pleasure in setting a trap than in taking a city. He set a snare and stuck a spear-head through the loop. He made cunning a virtue, and recounted a successful wile with the same pride as if reciting the brave exploits of heroes. To succeed by craft was nothing if it succeeded, and success without superior skill was more shameful than defeat. The Greek met the enemy with ambiguous speech. He attacked him with a riddle. He swept the field with a device, and slew the flying foe because he did not understand! He entered the treaty-room with a dilemma, arranged the terms with a subterfuge, and went out with a mental reservation.

In the midst of his keen wit, his happy perception of the ridiculous and his profound subtlety, the Greek retained in the highest degree a sense of the beautiful. He loved and appreciated the delicate outlines of form and color to the extent of adoration. In a beautiful land he awoke to consciousness. He saw around him a living landscape, and above him a cerulean sky. He held communion with all the nude simplicities of nature, and under her delightful inspiration felt the flutter of wings within him. He would imitate her loveliness. He saw in his musings and even in his slumbers the outlines of radiant forms. He caught at the vision. His thought became

Apollo, and his dream was transformed into Psyche.

From the concurrence of such faculties as those possessed by the Greeks, certain kinds of activity were inevitable. Native energy would lead to vigorous achievement. From the first the Hellenes were adventurous. They tempted both land and sea. The voyage from one Cyclade to another fed a hunger and nurtured an ambition. The ocean was something to be overcome. Others, as well as they, desired possession. Hence war, struggle, victory, peace, commerce, the city, the state. Here the Greek found food. He planted himself in his peninsula and islands. He made enterprise. He took advantage of the adventure of others. He made nature his confederate. He filled his sails with her winds. He went abroad and colonized. He sought the world's extreme. He established his dominion in another peninsula in the Western seas, and called it *Great* Greece, as distinguished from his own. He undertook the carrying-trade for the nations, and spoke his musical accents in the marts of Babylon and Memphis and Carthage. He hired himself for gain to oriental despots whom he despised, and transported their armies in his fleet. He became a cosmopolite, and learned among the swarming millions of foreign lands the lesson of fearlessness. He believed—and not without good reason—that a Greek spear and a Greek stratagem were more than Egyptian cohorts, more than the hosts of Persia. He became self-confident in his activities, arrogant in success, reckless even when his capital was in ashes and his family in exile. He was dauntless, imperturbable, courageous even to the doors of desperation and death.

As to moral qualities, the Greeks were not so greatly preëminent above the other peoples of antiquity. They had, like the Assyrians and the Romans, many of the robust virtues, but it can not be said that the moral perceptions of the race were, in delicacy of discernment between right and wrong, equal to the keenness of their intellectual faculties. The morality of Greek social life was as high, perhaps higher than the age. Woman was still a slave, but her condition in Greece was greatly preferable to that exhibited in any Eastern civilization. The conditions of her life were much improved by the influence of Greek institutions, and Greek motherhood and sisterhood were esteemed at something like their true valuation. Nor was it possible in a country where freedom was the rule that love should be absent or its fruit despised. The Hellenic family was maintained more by the action of natural laws than by the influence of the commonwealth, and the altar of domestic affection received its gifts from the hand of preference rather than from the enforcement of duty. Still, this natural freedom was by no means destructive of sacred ties, and although it was productive of much social immorality and abandonment, yet it gave birth to such an array of genius within given limits of population as can not be paralleled elsewhere in history.

Turning to the domain of ethics proper, and considering what may in general terms be called the fountain of right, namely, adherence to truth and principle, the Greeks were by no means above reproach. They had in this regard fewer of the heroic virtues than did the Romans of the Republic. With the average Greek the rule was that the end justified the means, and the majority adopted this rule without compunction. The natural disposition to adopt intrigue and deception as legitimate instruments for the accomplishment of certain results encroached in practice upon the better principles of action, to the extent of making treachery in private life and perfidy in public affairs much too common for the honor and reputation of the race. While, however, such was in general the ethical code of the Greeks there were among them not a few philosophers and teachers who alike in their instructions and examples were without doubt the best exponents of morality and personal worth that the world has ever produced. The greatness of Socrates stands unchallenged. The beauty and sublimity of his teachings have never been assailed except by bigots. The luster of his life and the heroism of his death have cast a mellow light through the centuries, and his steady belief in immortality has remained as the greatest protest of the

pagan world against the notion of the extinction of the human soul. While it is true that the Athenians on an important state occasion gave as a formal reason for the breaking of a treaty the statement that *it was no longer to their advantage to keep it*, and while in multiplied instances the pages of Grecian history are stained with the record of deeds perfidious, it is also true that the disks of Socrates and Plato shine above the fogs of this depravity with an immortal brightness.

Nor should there be failure to mention the redemptive virtue of Greek patriotism. It may be true, as has been urged by some philanthropists, that those local attachments of man to his own hill, his own province, his own country, which in the aggregate pass by the name of patriotism, are in the nature of a vice which will be extinguished in the higher developments of civilization. But such a proposition can not be established out of the history of the past, nor is it likely to be established in the immediate future. In general, the progress of mankind, as well as the average happiness of the world, has been fostered and sustained by the devotion of patriotism; and even in the present condition of the world, patriotism remains a fact and internationality a dream.

The Greeks were patriotic. Their land was of such a character as to nurture and stimulate local attachment. There seems to be more principle involved in fighting for a hill than for a brickyard. The human race fits to inequality of surface. It is difficult to be moved from such a situation. Beauty, sublimity, variety, every element which draws forth from man an affectionate regard for nature fired the Greek with enthusiasm for his country, his altars, his hearthstones, his gods. The masterful struggles at Marathon, Platæa, and Salamis are but the attestation of the vigor and invincible force of the patriotism of the Greeks.

They loved liberty. Freedom had her birth among the hills of Greece. Here it was that political rights were first debated, and the duties of government limited by statute. There was something in the Greek mind which could not tolerate the exactions of arbitrary authority. What they could not consent to they resisted. They quaffed freedom as from a cup. Their patriotic impulses led to the acceptance of the doctrine that the man existed for the state; but the spirit of liberty made it dangerous to be the state. Hellas was an arena. Contention, party strife, the conflict of opinion, the counter currents of interest, the inebriety of the demagogue, the factious outcry, the excited assembly, the uproar, the ostracism—all these were but the concomitants of that wonderful agitation in the painful throes of which were born the liberties of the people. With the growth of the Grecian commonwealths popular consent became more and more the necessary antecedent of action. The voice of the new-born fact called political freedom cried in the streets. There was a clamor, not wise but loud. It was as a sound in the tree-tops—the voice of democracy—a voice never to be stilled unto the shores of time and the ends of the earth.

SOCRATES, NAPLES.

In thought and action the Greeks were the best individualized of all the peoples of antiquity. The nations of the East were masses. Egypt was a mass. Babylon was a mass. Assyria, Media, Persia, Lydia—what were they but vast aggregates of humanity undistinguishable in member or part? But the Greek was differentiated. He passed out of the nebulous condition and became stellar. He counted one. Every other Greek counted one. The units stood apart. The nebulæ of antiquity broke into stars in the sky of Greece. A new force was felt henceforth among the nations of the earth. The lessons of individuality and freedom reflected from almost every page of Grecian literature were caught here and there by the brighter intellects of antiquity. The far-reaching gleam shot its arrow

of light even into the darkness of the Middle Age, and the patriots of every civilized country of the world have found their precedents among the liberties of the Greeks.—How these qualities of body and mind and moral nature in the Hellenic race will work in the elaboration of a national career will be exhibited in the chapters to follow.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND ART.

BY far the richest speech of Ancient Europe was the Greek; and among the languages of Asia it had no rival except the Sanskrit. The genealogy of this famous tongue has already been referred to in the notice of the origin of the Hellenic race. Indeed, the tribe-origin of the Greeks could never have been known but for the science of language, which has become the torch-bearer of ethnology in every quarter of the earth. The race-history of every people is recorded in its language, and if only that language has been crystallized into a national literature, there is little trouble in tracing out the prehistoric career of the people by whom it is spoken.

Greek, then, is one of that great group of languages known as Aryan or Indo-European. It has for its cognate tongues, Sanskrit and Persic in Asia, and Latin, Celtic, and Teutonic in Europe. It is now understood by scholars that in the migration of nations to the West the Celts, the Germans, and the Slaves preceded the other members of the European group. In a later movement came the two remaining branches of the family, the Greeks and the Romans. These were closely allied in ethnic and linguistic affinities. Any one at all famlliar with the Latin and Greek tongues will recall their fundamental identity in both vocabulary and grammatical structure. The two peoples by whom these languages were spoken held together for a long time after their separation from a common parent stock, and only at a comparatively late period began to differentiate into peculiarities of race and speech. The one people settled around the shores of the Ægean, and the other in the Italian peninsula.

In the former situation, Greek was a spoken tongue as early as the fifteenth century before our era. At a later date the language spread with the adventures and colonizations of the Hellenes, until their accents were heard from the coasts of Asia Minor to Sicily, and from Thrace to Cyrenaica. At a still later time it became the prevailing tongue in the Macedonian, Syrian, Egyptian, and Byzantine empires. In modern times fragments of the language are spoken in parts of Southern Italy, and even in one of the cantons of Switzerland. In Greece, at the present time, an abridged and simplified form of Greek is the language of the people, and this Romaic tongue differs less from the language of Demosthenes than does the English of today from the tongue of Chaucer.

The history of the Greek language has been divided by scholars into three periods, the first of which embraces its literary development from the time of the composition of the Epic poems to the establishment of the common speech by the historians and philosophers of Athens. The second includes the period of diffusion, during which, from its inherent excellence as a medium of communication, Greek became first the language of scholars in all civilized countries, and was then contracted, by the gradual decline of the Roman power, to its original seats. The third division embraces the degeneration of classical Greek, and the rise out of the same of the vulgar or common tongue spoken by the descendants of the Hellenes.

The tribal divisions of the Greek race on its settlement in Hellas soon gave rise to dialectical differences in speech. It was not

long before the Dorians employed one kind of vocalization and accent and the Ionians another. Thus arose the three primitive forms of Greek, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Æolic. At first the Doric was most widely spoken, being the form of speech prevalent in Northern Greece, in Peloponnesus, in Crete, and in the colonies of the Dorians in Southern Italy and Sicily. The chief authors who have preserved this ancient dialect in their works are Pindar and Theocritus.

The Ionic variety of Greek prevailed on the coast of Asia Minor, in most of the Ægean islands, in the peninsula of Attica, and in the foreign colonies established by the Ionians. It was developed at an early day as the language of poetry, and in this tongue were achieved the literary triumphs of the race. Ionic had itself a threefold development—the Old Ionic, the New Ionic, and the Attic. The first is the language of the epic poetry, and is rendered immortal in Homer and Hesiod. The New Ionic is the speech of Herodotus; while the Attic, being the language of Athens, contained the great body of Greek classical literature. It was the tongue of the scholars and philosophers—the chariot of fire in which the lightnings of Demosthenes were driven through smoke and tempest upon the enemies of his country.

Again the Attic dialect was itself divided, according to its three eras of development—the Old, the Middle, and the New. The Old Attic differed but little from the Ionic. It was the language of Thucydides. After his time there were large additions of Doric and Æolic words to the vocabulary, and thus was formed the Middle, and finally the New, speech of Attica. In this spoke the great orators and wrote the philosophers of Athens in the epoch of her glory.

The Æolic variety of Greek was scarcely limited to any definite territory. It was interfused with the other dialects, and was rather a modifying element than a distinct type of speech. It was the oldest form of Greek, and was not much inflected from that primitive tongue which was the mother, not only of all the Hellenic dialects, but also of the Italic languages. It thus happened that Æolic, being in a measure a prehistoric type of language, was not fully represented in literary productions. Before the dawn of Greek literature, the Doric and Ionic dialects had become the prevalent forms of speech, and the poets adopted these, instead of Æolic, as the vehicle of their expression, for the same reason that Chaucer wrote English in preference to Anglo-Saxon.

The Greek of Athens became, *par excellence*, the language of the Hellenic civilization. To speak it and write it became the ambition of the educated in every quarter of the world. Its forms and structure became fixed by law and usage. Perhaps no people ever had so refined a language, or spoke it with such purity and grace, as did the Athenians. For several centuries it retained its structure unimpaired. Not until the age of Alexander, when it had, by agency of his conquests, become the spoken language of Macedonians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Syrians, and of many other nations, did a difference begin to appear between the classical Greek and the vulgar tongue of the people.

It is of interest, in this connection, to note the antecedents of that style of Greek which, prevailing in Alexandria, became the vehicle of interpretation between the Jewish oracles and the western nations. It appears that primitive Macedonian was a form of speech different from Hellenic. The affinity seems to have been with Illyrian rather than with Greek. The early Grecians and Macedonians could not understand each other without an interpreter. Nevertheless, in the court of Philip and Alexander, Greek was the medium of communication. It seems, therefore, that the vernacular Macedonian had been discarded by the upper classes of the people, and the language of Hellas adopted in its stead. Albeit, Alexander and his court spoke Greek like foreigners, and incorporated therewith many Macedonian words and idioms. This, then, was the speech which the Conqueror carried with him into Egypt. The term "Hellenistic," therefore, as applied to the type of Greek employed by the Seventy in the translation of the Scriptures, is a misnomer, and should be replaced by "Macedonian."

In all the countries brought under the sway of Alexander, the language of the Greeks became the language of the governing class and of the philosophers. In every such country was a gradual and perhaps inevitable corruption of the speech thus imposed upon native tongues. From the third century of our era, the departure from the old standard of purity and elegance became so great that the Greek authors were no longer understood by many of the peoples pretending to speak their language. Meanwhile, the transfer of the capital of the Roman world to Constantinople introduced a large element of Latin into the heart of Hellenism, and then the pilgrims and crusaders from the West brought in their importation of Gallicisms, until the degeneration of Greek was well-nigh complete. Still, in the hands of purists and scholars, it continued to be the vehicle of literature until, surviving the barbarism of the Middle Age, it became a potent factor in the revival of learning.

Turning to the structural forms of the language of the Hellenes, as distinguished from its historical development, we find much of interest. The original Greek alphabet consisted of sixteen characters, which were reputed to have been brought into Hellas by the Phœnician CADMUS. He was a mythical king of Thebes and brother of the monarch of Phœnicia. The whole matter is legendary, but perhaps contains some grains of truth. It is probably true that the Greek letters had a Phœnician origin, but it is more likely that they came in a regular way from the contact of the Ionians with the scholars of Sidon than that they were the beneficent contribution of a traveling philosopher. As to the date of the introduction, modern antiquarians are divided in opinion, some holding it to have been as early as the fourteenth, others as late as the eighth, century before our era. The addition of several letters to the sixteen given by Cadmus is ascribed to PALAMEDES; but others think that twenty-two of the characters were derived directly from Phœnicia, and that only the letter *hypsilon* was of a truly Hellenic origin. At any rate, the number of characters in the Greek alphabet proper is twenty-four. It happened, however, in making up the list, that two of the letters, the *vav* and the *koppa*, were discarded, but their places were filled with two others, the *phi* and the *chi*. The other modifications were the addition of *psi* and *omega* by the Ionians, and finally the introduction of the aspirated *e*, called *eta*, to serve the purpose of *e* long. The alphabet thus completed was officially adopted in Athens, B. C. 403.

Of the seven vowels employed in Greek, two (η, ω) were long, two (ε, ο) short, and three (α, ι, υ) common. Every initial vowel was written with a breathing (᾽) (῾) above it to indicate whether it was to be pronounced with a smooth utterance, as in the case of an initial vowel in English, or be given with an aspiration, that is, with the sound of *h* preceding. Marks were also employed to show the accentuation of words. The circumflex accent (^) might be placed on either of the last two syllables of a word; the acute (´), on either of the last three, without respect to the length of the vowel in the syllable so accented; the grave (`), on every syllable not otherwise marked, but was not *written* except on the last.

In the earlier ages of Greek literature the characters employed in writing were what is called *uncial*, that is, a kind of square, capital-like letters, much larger than the body of ordinary type. There was no cursive or modified style of writing differing from the established forms of the letters. Such a device as a running-hand of Greek was unknown until the second century before our era, when the scholars of Alexandria introduced the cursive system. The ordinary small letters, such as make up the body of a Greek page, were not adopted until about the middle of the eighth century, A. D.; at any rate, no manuscripts or inscriptions containing that style of letter are known to antedate the year 750 of our era.

In its grammatical structure the Greek language is one of the most complete, and, at the same time, one of the most flexible in the world. The noun preserves five cases out of the original eight belonging to the primitive Aryan. It also has three numbers; singular,

dual, and plural. By this means the discrimination of objects as it respects unity, binity, and multiplicity is easily carried out in speech. The language presents three genders; masculine, feminine, and neuter. The article (hŏ, hē, tŏ) accompanies the noun and follows its inflections. It also has an independent use, being capable of representing the absent noun as by a delicate innuendo. In its power of nominal combination no other language has equaled the Greek. There was practically no limit to the ability of a Greek author to form compound nouns, expressing the most complex ideas. The striking off of case-endings and the juxtaposition of radicals was a process so easy and natural as to suggest itself in the ordinary flow of speech, and the laws of the language were so tolerant of growth as to put no restriction on either the poetic imagination or the necessity of philosophy. A whole hexameter might flow in a word, if fancy suggested the combination.

The adjective was specially full and rich in its expressiveness. Each word of this class was capable of one hundred and thirty-five endings! Of course, many of these were duplicates of others, but the full scheme showed the number here indicated.[1] In general the adjective conformed to the mutations of the noun. There was thus established between fact and epithet the closest bonds of sympathy. The adjective did obeisance in its forms to the noun with which it was joined. It swayed to and fro with its master, followed his fortunes and vicissitudes, shared his wealth and his poverty.

But it was the Greek verb which most of all exhibited the fecundity of the language. Here was revealed the great force and perspicuity of the speech of the Hellenes. A double series of affixes, added or prefixed to the verb-roots, clearly distinguished the tenses as to the time and completeness of the action expressed by them. For past time the augment, and for completed action the reduplication, furnished delicate discriminations for which we should look in vain in Latin or in any other tongue ever spoken in Europe. The root of a Greek verb was thus subject to a kind of development by means of endings and prefixes until the exact notion of the time, its point and duration, and the completeness of the action, was expressed with a specific delicacy of which no other language has ever shown itself susceptible.

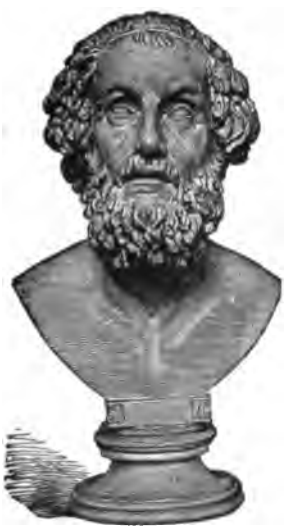
There was thus established among all the parts of the formal structure of the Greek tongue a kind of sympathetic union which moved the whole as one. A Greek sentence was agitated through all its length and depth by the stress of expression. The paragraph trembled from end to end when the thrill of life awoke in any part. The language, with its multitudinous endings, all in harmonious accord, lay like a rich meadow of stately timothy swaying and waving in the breezes of thought. Each stalk nodded to his fellow. The ripple of mirth danced over the surface like a scarcely perceptible breath of air. The shadow chased the sunshine, and the sunshine the shadow. A sigh came out of the forest and a deeper wave moved gently away to the distance. The thrill of joy, the message of defiance, the moan of the disconsolate spirit, the pæan of battle, the shout of victory, every mood and every emotion which the mind of man in his most vigorous estate is capable of experiencing, swept in rolling billows across the pulsating bosom of this beautiful speech.

The tongue of the Greeks was, in its kind, as preëminent as their literature. The one was the counterpart of the other. So wonderful in its completeness is the grammatical structure of the language that it has been made, not without good reason, the foundation of linguistic study in nearly all the universities of the world. The historian, Curtius, in summing up the structural elegance of Greek, thus assigns to its true place the speech of the Hellenic race: "If the grammar of their language were the only thing remaining to us of the Hellenes, it would serve as a full and valid testimony to the extraordinary natural gifts of this people, which, after with creative power appropriating the material of their language, penetrated every part of it

[1] That is, five cases multiplied by three numbers, by three genders, by three degrees of comparison = 135 adjectival forms.

with the spirit, and nowhere left a dead, inert mass behind it—of a people which, in spite of its decisive abhorrence of every thing bombastic, circumstantial, or obscure, understood how to accomplish an infinity of results by the simplest means. The whole language resembles the body of an artistically trained athlete, in which every muscle, every sinew, is developed into full play, where there is no trace of tumidity or of inert matter, and all is power and life."

It is not possible within the contemplated limits of the present work to discuss the literature of the Greeks under an exhaustive analysis. All that can be done is to note, with some degree of care, the leading branches in the literary art of the Greeks—the poetry and history of the Hellenic authors. On the very confines of the cloudy horizon of Greek history stands the sublime figure of HOMER. Myth or man—who knows? At any rate, he was a Being—one whose radiance has fallen on all the subsequent ages of man's endeavor. Even before him we have reason to believe that there were precursive bards of feebler wing who put into the lips of the primitive Greeks the chant, the pæan, the choral song, the merry roundelay of the singing girls and vintagers. But it remained for the deeds of the heroes of the nation to furnish the material of a loftier strain, and Scio's rocky isle to furnish the singer.



IDEAL BUST OF HOMER.
Sans Souci, Potsdam.

Here, then, was the beginning of EPIC POETRY—the song heroic which recounts the warlike deeds of the valiant and strong. The Blind Being chose for one of his themes the siege and sack of Troy—its causes, the outrage done to hospitality and trust, the counsel of the belligerent gods, the array of nations, the stratagem, the catastrophe; and for the other the wanderings of the brave and sagacious Ulysses, involving the social aspects of his own and foreign lands. Thus were wrought the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The work was greater than the theme. The language was still plastic. Under the magical touch of genius the two great epics rose like exhalations from the new-made earth. They were chanted in the ears of all Greece. It was the beginning of the literary culture of the Aryan race. The influence of Homer's heroic songs was transfused, like a strong current of ancestral blood, into the whole body of Greek letters that rose out of this radiant dawn. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have remained the best in their kind among the works of the human genius; nor is it likely that the deliberate judgment of three thousand years will ever be reversed in the tides of time.

The Homeric poems have not reached us in their original form. At the time of their production the Greeks already possessed the art of writing, but that art was employed rather for the brief and business affairs of life than for literary composition. The ear of the early Greek was attuned to harmony. He would hear the music of verse recited by a living master. He would feel the thrill of enthusiasm which could be kindled by no lifeless tablet. The swaying form of the rhapsodist, his rapt visage, his flashing eye, his sonorous voice rising and falling like the sea—these were the elements of inspiration, these the coals that kindled emulation. Thus it happened that memory became the repository and the tongue the deliverer of the verse of Hellas.

It is likely that for several centuries together the poems of Homer, vast in extent as they are, were written only in the memories of men. Doubtless in this period many changes were introduced by the caprices of not too faithful rhapsodists—many transpositions of parts, and perhaps some total loss of sections or whole episodes of the epic. Finally, however, in a day of happy fortune for all the world, the poems were reduced to

writing. While Pisistratus was tyrant of Athens the work was undertaken at his instance and under his patronage. The Athenian grammarian Onomacritus was appointed to revise and arrange both of the poems, rejecting what appeared to him to be the interpolations of weaker bards and the manifest corruptions of the ignorant. Thus were the two greatest epics of the world, flung from the vigorous imagination of the Blind Being of Ionia, preserved and transmitted to after ages in nearly the forms which now they bear. Of the time at which Homer flourished only so much is known as that he lived in the mysterious epoch where history and fable blended, and when Greece was just beginning to awake to a consciousness of her power.

Around Homer grew up a race of bards called the "Cyclic poets"—like unto himself, but of less repute. They were like the group of English writers known as the Shakespearean dramatists, clustering about a greater light, in whose effulgence they were lost. Not only have the works of the Cyclic bards perished, but most of themselves have not even left behind the legacy of a name.

After the old Ionian bard came HESIOD. He was a Dorian, who flourished about a century after Homer, and dwelt at the foot of Mount Helicon, near Delphi. His fond countrymen set up their poet in rivalry with his great predecessor, and even invented a fiction that the two had once contested for the palm in song and that the award had been made to Hesiod. But the story was an impossibility, both in time and fact. The subjects selected by the Dorian bard were the fables of the gods. Instead of the stirring strifes of heroes he recited the history of the national religion. He also collected and reduced to verse the practical and proverbial wisdom of the people, in a rather tedious didactic poem called *Works and Days*. Between these productions and the living pictures of Homer there is, in both subject and treatment, the greatest possible contrast. Neither in Hesiod, their master bard, nor in his successors, did the Bœotian school in Grecian literature ever approximate the excellence and breadth of the Ionic and Attic authors.

After the epic—which ceased to be cultivated from the epoch of Homer and Hesiod—the next kind of Greek poetry which appeared was the LYRIC. In the form of elegy it became as the heroic songs of the masters. The elegy, like the epic, took its rise among the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor. To them it seems to have been suggested by the *elegos* of the Phrygians. It was primarily a song of wailing, to be chanted with the accompaniment of a flute. Among the Greeks, however, the elegy took a wider range, and included in its subjects the stirring themes of patriotism and war. Even love and conviviality were made elegiac by the Hellenic bards, who, in alternate hexameters and pentameters, chanted the fiery charms of passion and the joys of the festival.

It was in the seventh century B. C. that the elegy of the Greeks achieved its greatest triumphs. Not infrequently the gravest affairs of state, the policy of cities, the conduct of war, were determined by a song. Thus the old decrepit TYRTÆUS, who was, in answer to an oracular call, sent in derision by the Athenians to be a leader of the Spartans, fired them to a pitch of unprecedented enthusiasm by a battle-lyric composed for the occasion. CALLINUS of Ephesus in like manner inspired his countrymen in their war with the Magnesians. SOLON himself disdained not the composition of a poem by which he induced the men of Athens to reconquer Salamis. The lyrics of THEOGNIS of Megara were collected and taught as a manual of wisdom and virtue. The praises of those who fell at Marathon were sung in immortal strains by SIMONIDES of Chios, while the poems of MIMNERMOS exalt the fleeting joys of life as the fairest and best to which mortality may aspire.

The next development of Greek verse—also lyric—was the IAMBIC or personal poetry. For the old Hellenic bard did not forbear to assail his enemy with caustic words as well as spears and javelins. This type of poetry seems to have been invented by ARCHILOCUS, who, taking advantage of the license conceded to all at the festival of Demeter to indulge in personal mockery and jests, introduced a new

style of verse, composed in alternate iambi and trochees, dipped in the bitterest wit and sarcasm, to the extent of driving to suicide (such is the tradition) those against whom the poisoned arrows were sent flying. Even greater and fiercer in invective was the poet HIPPONAX, who flourished about the middle of the sixth century, and is said to have satirized to death two sculptors who had caricatured his ugliness.

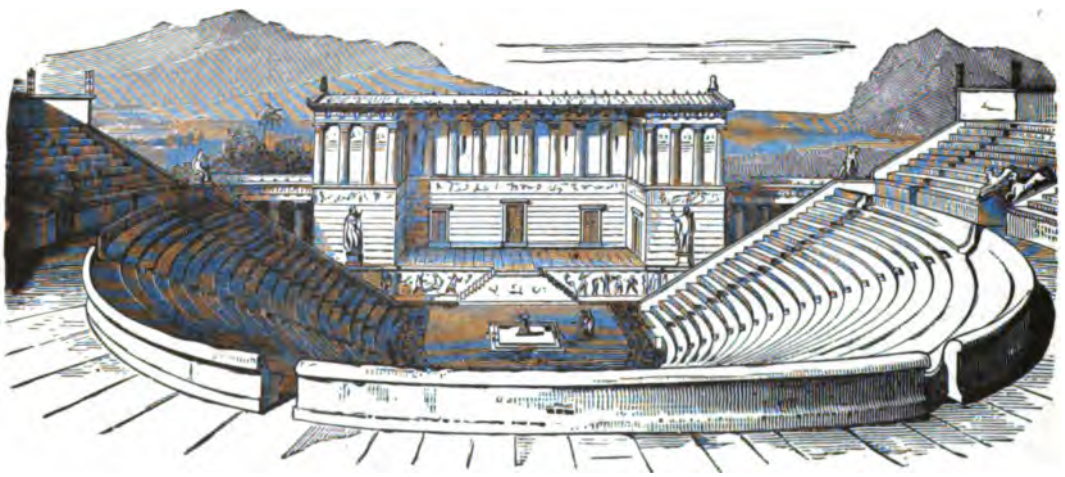
After the iambic came the MELOS, or song. This style of poetry was mostly cultivated by the Æolian and Dorian bards, who were celebrated for the tenderness of their emotion and feeling. In this species of verse the singer expressed his own joys and sorrows, his longing and hope. It was from Mitylene, the capital of the island of Lesbos, that the song proper took its rise. In Greece of the mainland it was admired rather than imitated. But there was a Lesbian school where this style of composition was encouraged and taught. Here flourished the aristocrat ALCÆUS, who, in his songs of love and hate, poured out the passion of his times. Here the great SAPPHO, the angel of unrequited love, achieved in her passionate and beautiful hymns the highest place among all the poetesses of Greece. The story of her suicide by leaping from the Lucadian rock because of Phaon's neglect seems to have no foundation in fact. She was a mother who loved her child and taught a school of maidens, instructing them in choral measures and the beauty of the dance. Her poems flow with a tender and glowing love, the truest and deepest passion, the most graceful and tuneful sentiments. After her came ANACREON of Teos, almost equally celebrated, but flourishing in a different atmosphere. He was an Ionian bard, and had the luxurious grace and abandonment of his people. Living at the courts of tyrants, and knowing little of the deep, pure charms of nature, he gilded artificial life and celebrated artificial love. Even in his old age, when the fires of youth were extinguished, he continued to sing in *words* the songs from which the *spirit* had long since vanished.

But by far the greatest of the Greek lyric poets was the Bœotian PINDAR. He was born in B. C. 522, and was thus a contemporary of Æschylus. His education was Attic, but the inspiration of his muse seems to have been caught from a predecessor, the Sicilian STESICHORUS, of Himera, who flourished near the close of the seventh century. Pindar's harp had many tones. He sang in manly cadences of public and private life; the struggles and vicissitudes of the one, the hopes and fears of the other. In his odes he rises to the highest flight. The victors in war and in the great games enacted in the presence of the assembled nation are made famous in his heroic song. The style is involved and difficult, but the spirit is the spirit of fire. He was the evening star of the lyric poetry of Greece. A change was passing over the national imagination, and the dawn of the drama was in the eastern sky.

The Greeks now demanded the poetry of action. The transformation from lyric to DRAMATIC was easy and natural—necessary. From the ecstatic song representing the joys and sufferings of others to impersonation was but a step. The Greek chorus belonged alike to lyric recitation and dramatic action. The transformation was gradual. THESPIS of Attica was the first tragic poet. His claim to be so regarded is based upon the introduction by him of an actor who came upon the stage and held discourse with the chorus and its leader. Then came Æschylus, who added a second actor to the dramatis personæ; and finally Sophocles, who gave a third, thus making the list of characters sufficiently extensive for complete and complex actions. The chorus, however, remained; for it was deemed necessary to fill the space between the acts of the drama with something which should sustain the interest of the spectators. But Dionysus and his Bacchic crew of singers and satyrs were banished from the stage. Instead of the revel and the feast the grave events of the national traditions and history were brought forward as the subject of the play.

Then followed the improvement of the theater. From the time of the Persian wars regular structures of stone took the place of the wooden buildings hitherto used for spec-

tacles. The form of the amphitheater was adopted. The auditorium at Athens was capable of seating twenty thousand people. The estimate was made for the whole male population of the city. Here was the stage upon which were presented the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The building was open to the sky. The semi-circular rows of seats were divided transversely with gangways affording easy exit and entrance. On the front row of benches sat the dignitaries of the state. Judges were appointed to determine the merits of the production. The orchestra was set in front of the players. On the walls surrounding the stage were painted scenes



THEATER OF SEGESTA, RESTORED.

representing the country or place wherein the play was supposed to have been real. Triangular prisms were set up in the wings, by the revolution of which on their axes an easy change of scene could be effected. Nevertheless we should look in vain in the theaters of ancient Greece for that elaborate realism which is the boast of the modern stage.

Greek tragedy begins properly with the great name of ÆSCHYLUS. He it was who by the force of his genius gave form and life and nationality to the new type of literature. He was born in B. C. 525. In his youth he fought in the battle of Marathon. In his sentiments he sympathized with the old Athens of the aristocracy—the ancient *régime*—rather than with the growing democratic principles of the commonwealth. His subjects are lofty and pathetic. He stoops not at all. With him it is the work of the gods and of fate. The dark destiny of men is the underplay. Another drama is enacted on high, over which is bent the eye of the awful Zeus, calm, severe, omniscient.

Under the canon of criticism a tragedy in the time of Æschylus must consist of three pieces, based upon the same fundamental theme. There was thus produced what was called a "trilogy," the three parts being in some sense independent, but in another sense subordinate productions. Of these trilogies Æschylus produced two, the subject of the first, called the *Persæ*, being the great wars of the Greeks and Persians, the struggle of Europe and Asia. Out of this triad, the central piece, representing the lamentations in the palace of Xerxes, at Susa, has been preserved. The subject of the other trilogy, known as the *Oresteia*, was the murder of Agamemnon, with the fatal consequences which followed hard after, until the Eumenides were finally appeased. This work has been preserved entire, and furnishes the basis of the high estimate which all subsequent ages have put upon the tragic genius of the author.

The Greek drama was still further amplified by SOPHOCLES. Born in B. C. 495, he followed close to Æschylus, of whom he is regarded as the successful rival. Now it was that the chorus was abridged and a third actor sent upon the stage. The dialogue became

more varied and natural. Individuality of character was achieved. The always lofty and pathetic solemnity of the language of Æschylus was in some measure substituted with the language of common life. The men of Sophocles

SOPHOCLES.—Rome, Lateran.

are more human than those of his predecessor. In his themes, however, the sorrowful mysteries of being are still preferred. The dark riddle of fate, the unsolved enigma of life, the hard destiny of struggling man, beaten by adverse winds of duty and inclination, of necessity and preference—such are the mournful topics of his dramas. In the *Antigone* best of all are these qualities of the genius of Sophocles depicted.

The next evolution is presented in EURIPIDES. He is less ideal than his predecessor, but truer to nature. His drama is more of a reality. He takes his stand in the midst of human life as it is. His language is the language of the people. The heroes of his plays are more *possible* than those of Sophocles. They are redeemed with weaknesses, touched with folly, stained with tears. He has more variety in his action, greater freedom, more surprises and vicissitudes. Nor were the essentially tragic qualities of his genius less tragic for this descent towards the actual plane of human life. As occasion required, all the sublime force of tragedy is revealed by his muse. In the *Medea* the terrible passion of Phædra in revenging her slighted love has a terror hardly equaled in Sophocles and Æschylus. But with those who succeeded Euripides a decline in tragic qualities becomes immediately apparent. The Greek play is henceforth rather the roar of the court-house than a sublime conflict in the arena of gods and heroes.

Then came Greek COMEDY. Hellas laughed. She amused herself. She took Bacchus into goodfellowship. The wine-god was mirthful. In the autumn, when the lesser *Dionysia* were celebrated, the season was made hilarious with mummeries and jokes. Any one present might be the victim. The choral song was transferred into comic representation. Folly mixed a cup and poured it on the heads of revelers. For a great while the scene was enacted in the village, where rustics gathered for amusement. In the serious city, where the weighty affairs of state engrossed the attention of all, there was no time for reckless enjoyment. Not until the beginning of the fifth century B. C. did comedy make a public appearance in Athens, and not until near the close of that century was the new species of drama received with general favor.

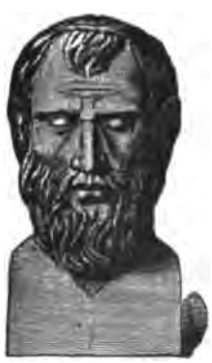
EURIPIDES.—Visconti.

Perhaps the early structure of Athenian society did not favor the development of such a literature. Freedom — the freedom of a democracy — was necessary to insure immunity, without which comedy can not flourish. When it did come it came with license. Nothing was too serious or sacred for the shaft of the reckless satirist. Man, woman,

all human affairs, the war, the state, the heroes, the immortal gods themselves writhed under the audacious irony and merciless sarcasm of the Greek comedian. Mockery, ridicule, derisive scorn, bitter invective, every weapon which the forge of conscienceless ingenuity could invent or imagine, was put into the quiver and swung behind the swaggering actor's shoulder. He shot right and left. He shouted when his victim fell. He made grimaces at the corpse. With him Olympus was no better than a stable for goats.

It may be observed, however, that notwithstanding this extremity of license the Greek comedy has always at bottom a foundation of morality. It is the cant of human nature, its sham pretense and folly, which received no mercy at the hands of the executioner.

Of all the Greek comedians of the old school only one was so fortunate as to have his works preserved to posterity—ARISTOPHANES, greatest of his kind. He was born in Athens, B. C. 452, and produced his comedies between the years 427 and 388. In richness of humor and quaintness of invention he stands without a peer. His imagination is as vivid as his wit is keen. His language is as free as his thought is audacious. He attacks the abuses of his times with a wild delight, and his personal satire is fierce in its vehemence. As the champion of the old *régime* he attacks the demagogues and sophists with an excessive bitterness. In his literary sympathies he is with Æschylus. He despises Euripides and his following. The demagogue Cleon, his contemporary, he brings upon the stage and covers him with opprobrium. In his *Clouds* he attacks the sophists with unparalleled severity. He pours upon them all the bottles of his scorn, and spares not Socrates. The folly of the Sicilian expedition is made immortal in the *Birds*, in which the war policy of the Athenians is mercilessly scourged. The lawyers of the city felt the castigation of his rod in the play of the *Wasps;* and in the *Frogs* Euripides is held up to public contempt.



ARISTOPHANES.
(Monumenti dell' Instituto.)

After Aristophanes Greek comedy was modified to a great extent in the hands of the two principal authors of the Later School—MENANDER and POSSIDIPPUS. The license which the old comedians had used and abused was somewhat abridged, and the subjects of plays became less personal and partisan than hitherto. The scenes and incidents of private life—its follies, its misdirected loves, its grotesque adventures—are substituted for the weightier vices of society. Social intrigue, plot and counterplot, the knave, the fool, the coxcomb—such are the materials and characters of that New Comedy, which, prevailing to the times of Alexander, was transferred to Rome and became the model of invention in the works of Plautus and Terence.

MENANDER.—Visconti.

After the age of Homer and Hesiod, centuries elapsed before even the beginnings of a prose literature appeared in Hellas. The ear of generation after generation was filled with the rhythmic cadences of the bards ere the project of giving a literary dress to the common language of life was conceived or imagined. Perhaps, when at last the suggestion of doing so was entertained, it was with a certain dread lest the sacred mystery of letters should be profaned by the unhallowed tongue of prose. To the courageous and versatile Ionians must be awarded the palm for breaking the poetic spell and daring to commit to record their traditions and reflections in the natural language of history and philosophy.

Perhaps the first prose work produced by a member of the Hellenic race was a history of the founding of Miletus, written by the Ionian CADMUS, a native of that city. After him, a school of legendary chroniclers grew up in the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Some of them were travelers. They put down in prose

what things soever they saw and heard abroad. Others rewrote the rhapsodies and legends of the bards, but their work was childish and unworthy to survive.

Then came the great HERODOTUS, justly styled the Father of History. He was born in Halicarnassus, in the year B. C. 484. He was a Dorian by descent and an Ionian by education. His merit consists in this, that he, first of the great minds of the Aryan race, perceived that history should be stripped of poetic disguises, and yet given an artistic and philosophic form in the language of common life. Herodotus had the genius of the traveler, the curiosity of an antiquarian, the industry of an artisan. He sought companionship with the literati of foreign cities. He stored his mind with records of the East. He reflected not a little upon the nature and causes of events, and thus fitted himself for historical authorship to a degree not to be expected of his age. He selected for a theme the great struggle between his country and Persia. As his narrative proceeds and he finds himself in contact with other nations, he pauses with a natural grace to recount their annals, their customs, their traditions, their laws. Garrulous? Granted; but such garrulity! Would that the primitive world had produced more such charming gossips! To spare the one were to lose the quaintest monument of ancient literature.

HERODOTUS.—Visconti.

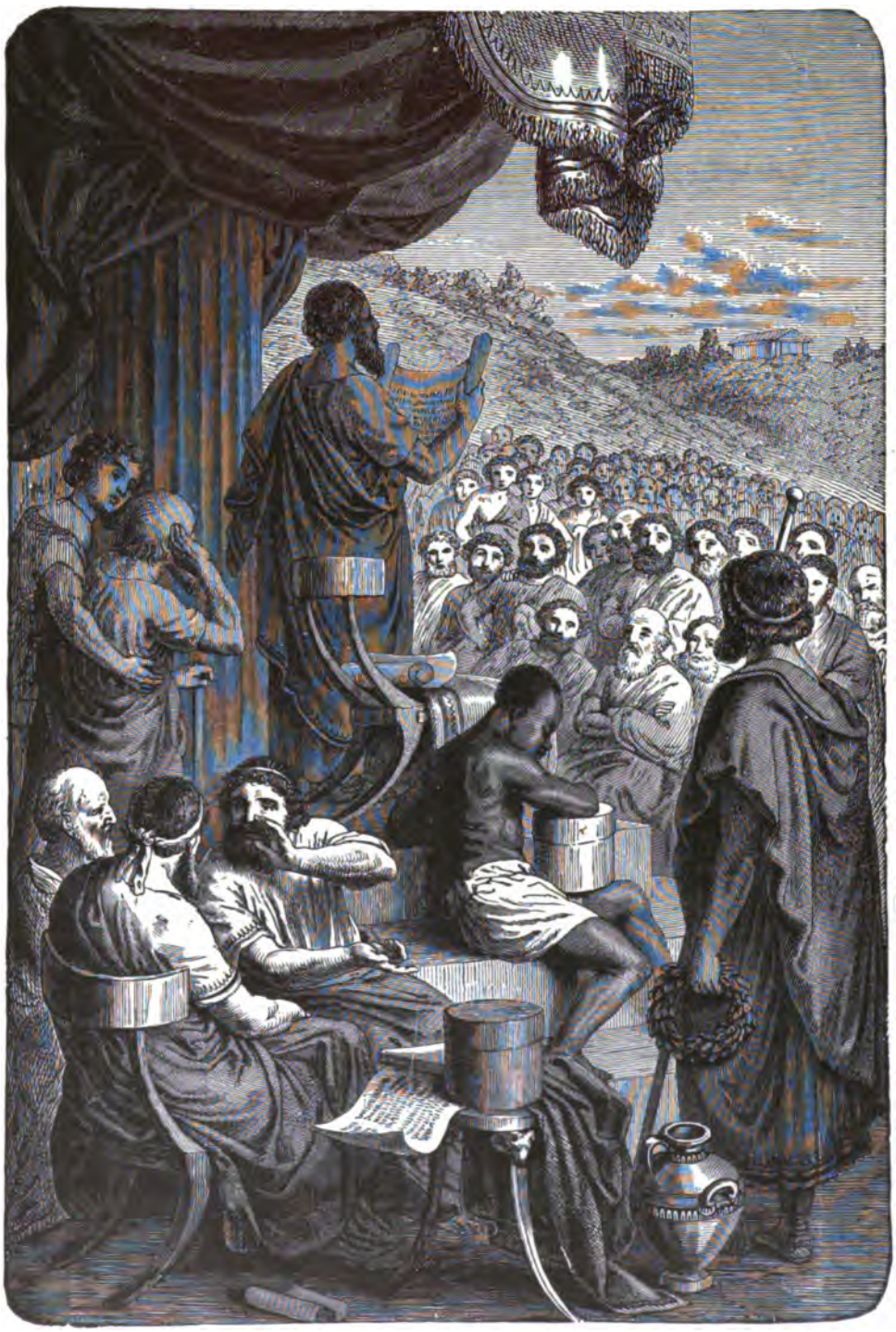
After him came the philosophic THUCYDIDES. He selected for his theme the then recent Peloponnesian war. He thus secured a unity of subject for which we should look in vain in the work of the Father of History. Educated in the political school of Pericles, under the full influence of the sophists and rhetoricians of Athens, by nature of a calm temperament, in which reason predominated over imagination, Thucydides came to his task fully equipped, both in himself and his discipline. True, his language is sometimes heavy and not always perspicuous. True, that many of his periods are inartistic and unmusical; but his is the history of reason and truth. The story is told without passion and with but few touches of prejudice. It is a story as if told by an impartial statesman who reviews with great breadth of vision and impartial judgment one of the most momentous epochs in the history of his people. The Peloponnesian war thus found an expositor equal in greatness to itself.

Then came XENOPHON—charming story-teller of the Athenians. In qualities of mind he was inferior to Thucydides. He had neither the elevated views nor the unbiased judgment of his predecessor. He was withal something of an adventurer. Out of sympathy with his own city and state, he drifted to the Spartans. As one of the leaders of a band of mercenary soldiers, he accepts pay from Cyrus the Younger and goes with that ambitious prince against Darius. He writes the *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, and afterwards the *Memorabilia* of Socrates. His style is above reproach, and displays the capabilities of the Attic tongue at its best estate. The purity of his diction gave him a reputation with his countrymen above the intrinsic merits of his works. As a model of Attic Greek, the *Anabasis* of Xenophon will ever hold a leading place; as a history it takes rank with the military records of Cæsar's *Gallic War*.

Then came Oratory—a necessary concomitant of the political freedom of the Greeks. The progress of Athens from an aristocracy to a democracy made public speech a prerequisite of leadership. The greatest debaters of the world were Athenian citizens, interested in the affairs of the commonwealth; advocates, partisans; men who espoused one side of a question with a passionate zeal that displaced all other considerations and made life a burden until the passion was liberated in utterance. From this it should not be inferred that all the Greek orators were

THUCYDIDES.—Visconti.

men of vehement manner in public address. In this respect there were two classes of speakers; the one represented by Pericles, who in delivery was calm and deliberate, using no gestures and exhibiting few marked changes of countenance; and the other by Demosthenes,



HERODOTUS READING HIS HISTORY TO THE ASSEMBLED GREEKS.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

whose fiery impetuosity and rapidity of utterance were the marvel of his age.

It has been disputed whether oratory is properly a division of literature. Be that as it may, certain it is that the orator, being by profession a man of affairs, is more intimately involved with the current of public life, and is therefore more properly a part of the secular history of his country than is the man of letters. It thus becomes proper to consider the orator and his work in connection with the civil and military affairs of the state rather than in a sketch of the national literature. This method will here be followed, and the account of Pericles, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the other great exemplars of Greek oratory, will be reserved for a future chapter where their relations to the state will suggest appropriate notices of their lives and influence.

Passing, then, to the consideration of the Art of the Hellenes we find materials of the profoundest interest. Long before the struggles of the Heroic Age awaked the conscious powers of the Greeks there had been in Hellas an epoch of art. A people had lived there who built structures as imperishable as those of Nineveh and Memphis. Of this sort may be mentioned the ancient reservoirs at Orchomenus in Bœotia, the so-called Cyclopean walls of Tiryns, and the massive ruins which have recently been uncovered by Schliemann at Mycenæ. All of these are prehistoric and all exhibit unmistakable proof of the architectural skill of some primitive people who dwelt in Hellas before the age of the Hellenes. The citadel of Agamemnon and the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ seem to establish the fact of an organized community, swayed by arbitrary authority, primitive but skillful, at a period long anterior to that in which the Greeks began the record of their own career as a people. There is thus in Greek art a mythical period corresponding to the age of fable and tradition. While the Hellenes were still in the shadows of legend and myth, monuments were reared in Argolis and Bœotia, whose presence was an enigma to the Greeks themselves, and the interpretation of which has been the puzzle of antiquarians.

The ruins of Mycenæ are primitive in structure. They are massive and peculiar. In the building of what is thought to have been the treasure-house of the king of the people, much artistic skill is displayed. In the center of solid masonry of hewn stone is a conical vault, the arch being produced by the narrowing of successive layers. The stones were formerly lined with plates of bronze, as were also the ornaments on the outside of the vault. The plates were hammered, and were held to their place on the face of the stone with rivets. Within this treasure-house Schliemann discovered vessels and utensils of gold, evidently belonging to a royal period in the history of some primitive race.

After this epoch most ancient in the art of Hellas several centuries passed with no development. It was an age of shadows, perhaps of decline. Not until the times just preceding the Persian wars was there the dawn of the true day of the art of the Greeks. Of the sixth century B. C. only a single temple has been preserved; but of the following hundred years the great columnar edifices of Selinus, Agrigentum, and Pæstum remain as immortal monuments of the age.

The nucleus of the Greek temple was the *cella*, where stood the statue of the deity. In the earliest times the statue was set in a grove; the thought of protection from the elements suggested the erection of a covering. The temple may thus be regarded as the house of the statue rather than the house of the god. At first the structure was no more than four walls inclosing a cell, with a roof to shelter the image. Then came elaboration. Columns were erected, first in front, and then on all four sides, and on the tops of these were placed the entablature. With the growth of artistic design the original idea of the temple was in a measure obscured. In the great structures of the classic age only faint reminiscences of the primeval edifice were preserved.

The origin of columns can never perhaps be ascertained. Long before Greece was Greece, the columnar structure had been employed in Egypt and in parts of the East. In the migration of the Hellenes from their

Asiatic home they brought with them a knowledge of pillared structure. It was not so much, therefore, as inventors that the Ionian and Dorian Greeks produced their respective styles of column, but rather as improvers and beautifiers of what already existed in a ruder and less perfect form. Side by side the two columnar styles appeared in the Hellenic architecture—the Doric and the Ionic—each perfect in its kind—each capable of the grandest effects known to the builder's art.

In their general structure the two orders of temple differed but little. The ground-plan and design in both were the same. Walled terraces were first constructed lifting the edifice above the profane level of its surroundings. Upon the platform thus produced the temple proper was reared. Around the *cella* were the four walls, and around these those sublime colonnades of fluted pillars which have remained the admiration of all after ages. The covered space of the Greek temple was thus greatly extended beyond the rectangle of the walls. On the capitals rested a decorated impost. This consisted of three parts: the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice. The roof rose over all in a gentle slope, presenting at each end a triangular space, called the tympanum. Upon this were set those immortal sculptures the parallel of which has never been seen in the world.

The interior space of the classic temple was lighted from above by an opening in the roof, called the *hypaithron*. In the background of this single hall stood the statue of the god to whom the edifice was dedicated. In some instances, when the temple was of great size, the inner space was divided by transverse rows of columns, and these stood sometimes one row above the other, forming a gallery around the hall. Such was the arrangement in the great temple of Neptune at Pæstum.

Not every thing in temple decoration was left to the artist's chisel, but much to the painter's brush. Column, impost, gable, and ceiling were all artistically colored. In strength and brilliancy of hue the pigments employed by the Greek painters of this age surpassed all rivalry. Whatever the brightest and richest tints of blue and gold and crimson could do to set the temple in a blaze of glory, radiant as the sunshine of the Grecian sky, that was added by the decorative skill of the artist to the already sublime work of the builder and the sculptor. Both the Doric and Ionic temples were thus improved with the beautiful effects of color deftly laid on under the guidance of the keenest artistic perception.

In Asia Minor and the Ægean islands the Ionic style of structure prevailed over the Doric, but in Athens and throughout Hellas Proper both styles flourished together. As already said, the two differed in the column—not in the general character of the edifice. The Doric pillar was imposing, massive. It gave a solemn grandeur to the building of which it was the principal feature. It added an air of seriousness and solidity. It was plain to the last degree of severity. It was baseless and virtually without a capital, having only a massive, circular disk upon the top to support the architrave. The diameter of the pillar was so great as to shorten its apparent height; the shaft tapered but little; it stood calmly in the repose of infinite strength. The Ionic column, on the other hand, was the pillar of beauty. Its height was augmented by the slender and tapering shaft. Elegance and grace and delicacy added each her charm to this fluted dream of Greek architecture. The Ionic pillar rose on a beautiful pedestal and was crowned with a capital ornate and airy. It was the poetry, as the Doric was the prose, of the magnificent temples of Greece.

Of such grand structures almost every Greek city could make its boast. These were the splendid edifices which were laid in ruins by the Persians. These were the grand structures which rose again with added beauty in the age of Pericles, when Grecian civilization shone with its richest luster. Then it was that the ACROPOLIS became the seat of the guardian gods of the land, and was adorned as no other hill of the world. Temples and statues, the work of the best artists ever produced by the race of man, shone afar over

land and sea from the classical and splendid brow of Athens.

Now was finished the ERECHTHEUM, the great Ionic shrine of the gods of the people. On the site of the ancient temple of Athene the architect Ictinus erected the magical PARTHENON, the ideal of Doric grandeur, which the genius of Phidias adorned with a wealth of art never equaled before or afterwards. The PROPYLÆA were built by Mnesicles—beautiful colonnades surmounting broad flights of marble steps by which the Acropolis was ascended.

should be honored with the name of preservation. The masterpieces of Plynotus, of Zeuxis, of Apelles have sunk into oblivion; only their imperishable fame, transmitted by the foreign robbers who despoiled Greece of her treasures, has remained of what were doubtless the greatest achievements of the human genius displaying its powers on canvas. All that we can ever hope for is to see faintly reflected in the painting of Herculanæum and Pompeii the borrowed glories of the pencils of the Greeks.

We are not, however, left wholly in the

Thetis. Achilles. Eos. Memnon.

GREEK ART.—FIGHT OF ACHILLES AND MEMNON.
From an Archaic Vase, Berlin.

The AGE OF PERICLES was the climax of Grecian architecture. The Peloponnesian war and the wild career of the democracy in Athens were unfavorable to further development, even if further development had been possible. The same great age witnessed also the highest achievements of the chisel and the brush. The art of the painter followed that of the builder. Unfortunately for the world the work of the former was less substantial than that of the latter. Not a single piece of Greek painting belonging to the period of development and greatest excellence has been preserved, unless indeed the traditions and reproductions of the Roman artists dark as to the actual power of the Grecian painters in the adaptation of color and design. Though every canvas of the great masters has perished, there yet remain the decorated vases of Athens and Corinth. From these we are able to determine with some degree of satisfaction and within the narrow limits of decorative art the skill in color and design displayed by the artists, or more properly the handicraftsmen, of Greece. In these works we see, as in other branches of the industry of genius, a gradual development from the mere linear decoration of the primitive pottery to the highly artistic designs of the classical period, when the figures of men and birds

and beasts are given with the best effects of ceramic art.

Of the great painters of Greece more is known than of their works. PLYGNOTUS, who flourished from B. C. 475 to 455, is regarded as the first of the masters. By him many of the public buildings of Athens were adorned with elaborate frescoes and splendid panels. He it was who is said to have painted Polyxena with such expressiveness of countenance that *the whole Trojan war flashed from her eyes!*

Then came ZEUXIS and PARRHASIUS. The first painted grapes which deceived the birds, and the other a curtain which deceived Zeuxis! Athens applauded the achievements of her favorite artists, and wealth poured her treasure into their laps. TITHMANES also shared their fame. He it was who in his *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, unable to depict as he would the grief of the father, *drew a veil over his face*, and left the rest to thought. This great artist belonged to what is known as the Sicyonian School, and to a time subsequent to the age of Pericles. PAUSIAS, also, was a member of this group. He had the reputation of possessing great realistic powers and extraordinary genius in the art of foreshortening.

But the greatest painter of the Greeks was APELLES, the court artist of Alexander the Great. He was an Ionian by birth, who followed the traditions of the Sicyonian School He began his career in portraiture, and so great was his fame that Alexander would permit no other to paint him. The generals of the conquerer and the beloved Campaspe were also the subjects of his art. From portraiture he proceeded to mythological themes, and in these achieved the highest honors. His masterpiece was a picture of *Venus Rising from the Sea*, executed with such wonderful sweetness and delicacy as to surpass all competition.

Helen. Menelaos.

GREEK ART.—CAPTURE OF HELEN OF TROY.
From an Archaic Vase, Berlin.

From the age of Apelles painting declined until its glory was distiguished with the glory of Hellas by the conquest of the country by the Romans. Nevertheless, in the period between the time of Alexander and the final destruction of Greek nationality, many artists flourished who under more favorable circumstances would have done honor to their country. Such was PROTOGENES of Rhodes and the realistic THEON, whose picture of the *Swordsman* gave him merited fame.

But the chisel of Hellas surpassed her

pencil. The plastic art of the Greek rose to a pitch of excellence which pictorial representation never could attain. Whatever competition the painters of modern times—notably those of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century—may claim with the painters of Greece, competition with the Greek sculptors there is and can be none. It is safe to set the names of Phidias and Praxiteles in a category by themselves; for none others have to an equal degree won the admiration of mankind. Like the painting of the Greeks, sculpture followed in the wake of the useful arts. Literary culture preceded it. Only when refinement and leisure had been attained by the industrial pursuits, only when war had aroused and poetry had soothed the spirit of Hellas, did she begin to give form to fancy and make her thought imperishable in marble.

FIFTY OARED GREEK BOAT.
From a vase.

Sculpture had its rude beginnings. The early Greek exercised his skill in carving wood and hammering metal. The art of casting in bronze, said to have been first practiced by two Samians, RHOICUS and THEODORUS, also preceded the carving of stone. At the first sculpture was employed almost exclusively for temple decoration, but it was not long in being freed from such thraldom. The human form became the model. The gymnasia had taught the lesson of natural modesty, and imparted to the naked body all the exquisite grace and beauty of which it is susceptible. To reach out after this ideal of loveliness was the passion which seized the sculptors of Greece and gave them inspiration. So, beginning in Ægina, a class of artists arose who with consummate skill began to chisel in stone the beautiful lineaments of the human form.

At the first there was much that was rude and conventional, but the artist more and more threw off his fetters, until, by the middle of the fifth century, perfect freedom had been achieved. Then MYRON and POLYCLETUS arose, the one with his great works in bronze, and the other with his beautiful marbles. Myron it was who produced the *Ladas*, a victor in a foot race who died at the goal. The last gasp is on his lips. He pants. He is dead. The masterpieces of Polycletes were the *Doryphorus*, a young and beautiful spearman; the *Diadumenus*, a boyish figure, bound as to his brows with a wreath of flowers; and the *Canephoræ*, or maidens with their baskets.

PHIDIAS was the chief glory of the administration of Pericles. To him was committed the work of making the Parthenon sublime. From his studio went forth trophy after trophy to adorn the crowning glory of the Acropolis. Indeed, it is not conceivable that one mind should have designed, much less one hand executed, the multitude of works which are ascribed to Phidias. It is more likely that a group of great artists, working under his direction and inspiration, contributed in keenest rivalry the wonderful decorations of the Parthenon. A description of the separate pieces would occupy a chapter. Around the *cella* was a frieze four hundred feet in length covered with bas-reliefs. The metopes were occupied with ninety-two sculptures representing the *Combats of the Centaurs*. The work on the frieze presents the great procession of the *Panathenæa*—a living panorama of the scenes which appealed most strongly to the imagination of the Greeks.

In statuary proper Phidias, if possible, surpassed the sublimity of his reliefs. His statues of *Athene* and the *Olympian Zeus* were regarded as the master works of antiquity—the latter being classified as one of the Seven Wonders of the world. Both this and the Athene were done in that magnificent style of art called *chryselephantine*, that is, wrought in ivory and gold. It was a revival and glorification of one of the most ancient artistic

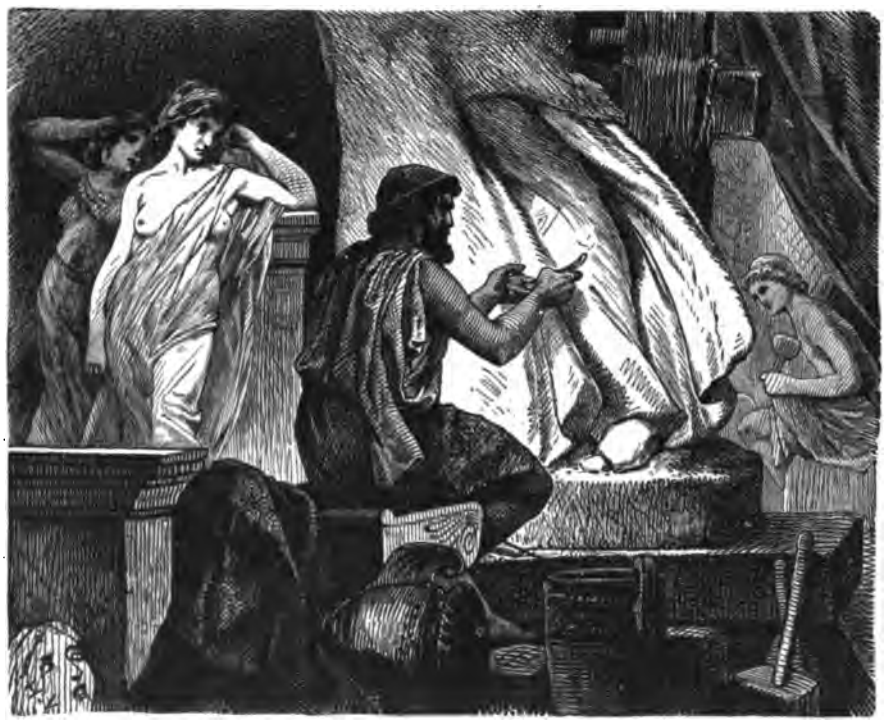
methods known to the Greeks, namely, the overlaying of a statue with hammered plates of metal. But the rude works of the primitive artists gave but little prophecy of the splendors of which this style was capable in the hands of a Phidias. To him also was attributed the famous group of *Niobe*—that mother of anguish, smitten by the gods for her maternal pride.

After Phidias, PRAXITELES stands highest among the sculptors of the Greeks. His theme was passionate love. Venus was his ideal. In five statues he gave her the form of marble. His *Aphrodite Knidos* is preserved—in a copy—in the museum at Munich.[1]

At the head of the sculptors of the time of Alexander the Great stood LYSIPPUS. He introduced a new quality into statuary—that of an ideal refinement upon nature. His works show a delicacy in limb and member which could hardly be equaled in those of any other master. So great was the reputation of this artist that Alexander would be modeled by no other. His most famous work is the *Apoxyomenos*, now in the Vatican Museum.

After the time of Lysippus two schools of sculpture arose, the one having its seat in Pergamon and the other in Rhodes. The artists of these schools followed and imitated their predecessors; but their works in many instances exhibited original force directed by the hand of genius. The Pergamine sculptors were specially noted for the realistic effects at which they aimed in their productions, many of which are wonderful in fidelity. Such is the celebrated piece representing a dying Gaul in the Roman amphitheater—a work which evoked from the genius of Byron one of his finest stanzas:

"I see before me the gladiator lie;
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low—
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won."



PHIDIAS IN HIS STUDY.

[1] The *Venus of Melos*, by an unknown artist, belongs to this period, and is regarded as *par excellence* the most beautiful piece of Grecian sculpture.

Of the Rhodian school of artists the work of greatest merit which has been preserved is the group of the *Laocoön*, the joint product of the three sculptors, AGESANDROS, ATHANADORUS, and POLYDORUS. This celebrated piece and the *Dying Gladiator*, just described, stand in the museum of the Vatican at Rome. A second work of Rhodian art, almost as celebrated as the Laocoön, is the group of the *Farnese Bull*, representing the binding of Dirke to a wild bull by Amphion and Zethus. It is the joint product of the sculptors APOLLONIUS and TAURISCUS. Such were the last productions of Grecian chisels down to the time when the freedom of Hellas was extinguished by the Romans. From that time forth, though the love of art continued, no artists arose to rival the great masters who had flourished before the days of spoliation and servitude. It became the policy of Rome, however, to foster for her own glory the genius of the Greeks; and under her liberal patronage were produced not a few of the celebrated sculptures to be hereafter noticed, such as the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Venus de Medici*.

THE PARTHENON RESTORED.—Finished 438 B. C.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

THE life of the Greeks was preëminently a life of publicity. At day-break the people rose and went forth. Having broken his fast with some bread dipped in wine, the citizen sought the open place to take his part in the busy scene of public and private affairs. Even before this early hour the country folk had arisen and made their way to the markets. In the marts were exposed the products of the field and the garden. Here were vegetables and fruit and milk and honey. At the fountains were seen the water-carriers hurrying to and fro with their pitchers. The artisans and shopkeepers soon thronged the streets, and the city hummed with the noise of industry. Nor should the troops of boys hurrying to school be forgotten as an interesting feature of the life that filled the streets of Athens at early morning.

The public market of the city was a scene of hurry and, withal, of hilarity; for the Athenians were never morose. The buildings stood in the center of town, where the prin-

cipal streets crossed, affording ready entrance from all directions. Instead of the low booths which in modern cities so often pass for market-houses, the Greeks gave to their buildings used for this purpose much care, both in structure and ornamentation. The place was not only a market but a public promenade, where friend met friend, exchanged the usual civilities of life, and discussed the affairs of the state.

In the different apartments of the market the various products were exposed, each after its kind. Some sold wine; others, fruits; others, peas and lentils; others, flowers. For the Greeks never banqueted until they had wreathed themselves with flowers. It was the æstheticism of a natural civilization. The flower-girls of the Greek market-place were many times made the subjects of the painter's brush and the sculptor's chisel.

Not only were the daily needs of the people supplied from the market, but around this square of the city were arranged the principal buildings belonging to the other vocations: shops of artisans, physicians' stalls, artists' studios, places for loungers and gossips. Here the witty assembled. Here the doctors discoursed on the art of healing. Here Hippocrates prescribed for his patients. Here the popular satirist made the physician smart with his puns and epigrams. Of Dr. Hermas the bitter rogue said:

"Diophantes, sleeping, saw,
Hermas, the physician:
Diophantes never woke
From that fatal vision!"

Around the market were also gathered clowns and showmen, sellers of amulets and charms, venders of nostrums and ointments. In another part were the money-changers and bankers, domestic merchants and importers of foreign goods. The money-changers were the notaries who authenticated documents and certified the validity of contracts. They received deposits, charged commissions, issued checks and drafts. Before their benches were frequently seen many of the wealthiest citizens of the state.

The great majority of those who plied vocations in the Greek market were men. The exceptions were in the case of the sellers of bread and flowers. These branches were managed by women and girls. The ladies of Athens went not to market. But of men—old men, youths, striplings—all classes were here congregated from day to day. Here Socrates walked with his demure visage and far-seeing eyes. Here Diogenes carried his lantern. Here came the frivolous dandy with his new suit and cane. Only the public officers, who during market hours were engaged elsewhere in administrative duties, and the artisans plying their vocations, were not seen in the noisy but witty crowds about the public market.

There is little doubt that several traits of Athenian character—its rage for discussion, its whimsicality, its madness for politics—were in some measure traceable to the life of the market-place. Here grew and was stimulated that tendency to extremes for which the Greeks have been so much marked by soberer peoples. They were capable within the briefest period of feeling and exhibiting the highest pitch of enthusiasm and the lowest ebb of despondency. In the market one spirit fired a thousand. There bad news quenched hilarity and sent all to their homes in despair.

The citizens of Athens—and Athens is typical of all the free cities of Greece—were a populace. It was the native soil of the demagogue, the sycophant, the statesman. Whether a man would be one or the other depended upon his character and genius. Political parties could but flourish here. Athens was a lawyers' camp. Broils and litigation were the necessary results of that type of freedom which was claimed by the primitive democracy.

So vast was the activity and so keen the litigious instincts of the Athenians, that in the heyday of the city's power a fourth or fifth of her people attended court every day! Aristophanes, in his comedy of the *Birds*, declares that the cicada sings for a month, but that the Athenians buzz with lawsuits to the end of their lives. The satirist then makes two Athenians, tired out with the unceasing contentions of their city, go on high and found another commonwealth in the clouds. But

scarcely was the new city organized until the Athenian lawyers and sycophants rose in a flock and went to it!

While Athens remained under the aristocracy, courts were organized in ten different quarters of the city. When the government took on the democratic form, the judicial power fell into the hands of the whole body of the citizens. From all who were over thirty years of age six thousand were drawn by lot to act as jurymen. Of these one thousand were drawn out as talesmen. The remaining five thousand were divided into ten sections, and each section was assigned to hear causes in one of the ten judicial districts of the city. Except on the occasion of public festivals and holidays, these courts sat every day in the year. High benches were arranged for each of the great juries, and on a lower level in front was the arena where the suitors and their advocates appeared in the trial.

The proceedings were always public, and were attended by great throngs, who were anxious to witness what was done, and especially to hear the pleadings. The courts indeed were much more attended than was the Pnyx, where four times a year were held the meetings of the great assembly. The fee which was paid for presence at court was larger than that which was given for going to the Pnyx, and for this reason the magistrates had to adopt the measure of fining in order to secure attendance at the latter. Sometimes a rope smeared with red paint was stretched across the street and carried rapidly forward with a hustling crowd in front; for whoever was touched with the paint was punished with a fine. A sufficient crowd could thus be obtained to attend to the legislative affairs of the city. When the people were assembled on the terraces of the Pnyx and order had been secured by the bailiffs and policemen, any citizen might propose a measure and secure, if he could, its adoption. Any one might address the assembly for or against the proposed measure, and in doing so the speaker wore a crown as a badge of inviolability. So great was the concession to freedom of speech!

The edicts of the public assembly were carried into effect by the *Boulé*, or Council, a body of five hundred citizens, to whom was committed the execution of the laws. The meetings of this body were held in the *Bouleuterium*, a public building situated between the Acropolis and the market-space. The Council was divided into ten sections of fifty members each, and each section was assigned its turn in duty by lot. It was before this Boulé or Great Council that the international affairs of Greece were transacted. It had control in general of foreign affairs. It received ambassadors and made treaties. To be a member of this august body was the highest civil dignity to which an Athenian might aspire; and yet so complete was the reign of democracy that any one, however humble, might hope for a seat in the Bouleuterium. So great was the difference between the freedom of Greece and the absolutism of the oriental monarchies!

In entering the domain of the private life of the Greeks what first strikes the attention is their hospitality. It was a fundamental principle with the Hellenes that the stranger should be entertained. Though he were an enemy, Zeus Xenios required that he be received in a hospitable manner. No question might be asked of the stranger who came unannounced. He might take his seat at the board, and should be served with the best. *After* he had eaten and drank, his nativity and mission might be inquired. From the days of Homer the guest was received with courtesy. He was given a bath. Food and drink were placed before him. Servants attended to his comfort. A couch was spread in the hall. He rested. He went his way in peace.

With a development of Greek society, however, there was a necessary curtailment of patriarchal hospitality. Travel for travel's sake became more common, the demands upon social bounty more numerous. Still there never was a time when hospitality ceased to be the rule. There was something in the nature of the Greek analogous to what is seen in the modern Parisian. He was sociable. By preference he ate not alone. He either invited others or was himself entertained. He could not endure solitude. Life with him was defined as an opportunity to talk; and the best of life was with a group of friends at the table.

In the earlier times the Greeks lived frugally. The fare of the Homeric heroes was of the plainest. The meats were the flesh of the domestic animals roasted on spits. Home-made bread was passed from hand to hand. Nor did the ancient Hellenes, like the gluttons of Rome, eat to repletion and satiety. With the development of the means of living greater variety was introduced. Poultry and game were added to the meats. Fish and cheese became staple articles of food. Oysters and crabs and Bœotian eels came to be regarded as delicacies on the tables of the rich. Most of the vegetables peculiar to the north temperate zone where it slopes towards the tropics were abundantly served. Then came the wines, of which the variety and qualities produced from the vintages of Hellas and the Cyclades were superior to those of any contemporaneous country.

As a rule the preparation of the feast was intrusted to the supervision of the Greek matron with whom it was a point of honor that her lord and his guests should banquet in good style. Where the feast was of such proportions as to become a public reception rather than a private meal, the services of professional cooks were procured for the occasion. Though woman was then, as ever, the presiding genius of the *preparation*, she was allowed no place at the board. When, however, there were no invited guests, the husband frequently dined with his wife in the *gynæconitis* or woman's apartment of the house.

At nearly every meal, however, friends were invited; for in the gymnasia and market-place man met man, and the two went together to dine. Before the meal was begun all the participants carefully prepared themselves. They bathed. They perfumed themselves. They put on their best attire. When all was ready, they exchanged salutations. An ode was sung. The table was spread in the *andronitis*, or the man's hall of the house. The board was adorned with coverings and hangings. Couches were spread; for the Greeks reclined at the feast. The left arm rested on a cushion. The head was crowned with a chaplet of flowers. On each couch were two guests. The place of honor was next to the host. Each was assigned his place at the board. A slave spread the viands and brought the cups of wine. A spoon was laid before each guest. Plates there were none; neither knives nor forks. The meats were served already cut into bits, which the eaters took with their fingers. The drinking was reserved for the close. Then the wine was mingled with two or three parts of water: the Greek was by nature too much of an æsthete to drink fire at a banquet.

The servants of the table were the youngest and handsomest slaves. They crowned the heads of the banqueters with flowers, and garlanded their breasts with myrtle and violets. After the feast came the song and the dance, generally performed by the servants. The guests were many times heated with wines, and not infrequently the feast degenerated into a revel. It was, however, the excess of nature rather than the deliberately sought intoxication which the drinkers of the North indulged in for the sheer oblivion which followed. To the Greek, delight, exhilaration, exuberance of spirit, the joyous ecstasy of companionship, the thrill of elevated emotion, the forgetfulness rather than the oblivion of care and dread,—such were the motives of his abandonment to the pleasures of drink. So he and his poets praised the wine. Anacreon but expressed the common question of the Greek race in one of his odes:

> "Thirsty earth drinks up the rain,
> Trees from earth drink that again,
> Ocean drinks the air, the sun
> Drinks the sea, and him the moon.
> Any reason canst thou think
> I should thirst while all these drink?"

Such was the power and influence of the Greek feast that the greatest of the philosophers and sages forebore not to participate in its pleasures and to praise both it and its memories. So did even Socrates and Plato. When, in B. C. 416, the poet Agathon, on the day after his victory in tragic verse, gave a banquet to his friends, the greatest minds of the ancient world gathered in honor of the occasion; and the feast itself was made the basis of Plato's *Symposium*, one of the most

charming pieces of literature which ever proceeded from that tall spirit.[1]

During the night the streets of Athens were in charge of public slaves and policemen. For such offices Scythians were preferred. Armed with their bows and arrows, they patrolled the public places, and muttered broken Greek at the disorderly. About one thousand two hundred of these uncouth guards were nightly encamped on the Arcopagus. Their services were in constant demand to check and repress the uproar and riot of the unmanageable crew of young Athenians who poured through the streets in the reckless abandonment of mischief and the not infrequent perpetration of crime.

The women of the ancient Greeks had more freedom than among any other primitive people; and they repaid the gift with a munificent contribution of beauty and faithfulness. Alcestis gives her life as a ransom for her husband's. Antigone follows a father's wretched fortunes with all a daughter's love. Penelope for twenty years longs for her absent lord. What to her are suitors while *he* is far away? Andromache stands by Hector to the end. Even Helen is the victim of the intrigue of the immortals rather than the wayward and guilty wife, insomuch that, after her return to Menelaüs, she is regarded as a true and noble queen. Such was woman in the age of the heroes.

In the later developments of Greek civilization woman suffered. She became restricted in her freedom, and lost her ascendency over the minds of men. Perhaps the change in her condition and rank may be attributed to the constant encroachments of democracy, which, by making every man a participant in public affairs, while not conceding like prerogatives to woman, gradually drew off one of the sexes to the market-square and the Pnyx, there to discuss the many times factitious issues of politics, while at the same time the other sex was more and more restricted by domestic duties and limited by the horizon of home. It was the pernicious political discovery that each of the sexes has a "sphere"—a discovery which has cost the world centuries of retrogression.

In the Dorian and Æolian states, most notably in Sparta, the Greek woman came more nearly maintaining her old-time independence and consequent influence over men and public affairs than in the more highly civilized commonwealths of the Ionians. The Spartans continued to make a boast of their women long after the time when the philosophers, to say nothing of the politicians, of Athens had come to pass them by with indifference. The Spartan mothers retained the old-time flavor of heroism even as long as they had a country. They reared their sons and gave them to the state. The epitaph of Damaineta continued to find exemplification among the heroic daughters of that brave land—

> "Eight sons Damaineta to battle sent,
> And buried all beneath one monument.
> No tear she shed for sorrow, but thus spake—
> 'Sparta, I bore these children for thy sake.'"

The Ionian women of the classical age were less esteemed for heroic than for feminine qualities. The girls were for the most part secluded. On the occasion of public festivals they appeared and took part in the songs and dances. They were bred more and more to the indoor than to the outdoor life. Housekeeping, however, was not taught until after marriage. Then the care of the Greek home devolved almost exclusively upon the woman. In this relation she came to be disprized as something of a drudge. The poets and wits made her the object of innumerable satires. She was left to her beauty and grace for protection rather than to any chivalrous sentiment among the men. Nevertheless, with these many disadvantages, the women of Attica continued to be ladylike and noble. The Greek was rarely discourteous to his wife. Her modesty and dignity were not often shocked by rude language or base conduct. Her home was sacred from the intru

[1] It will be remembered that it was at this feast of Agathon that the mad-drunk Alcibiades broke in unbidden, assumed the rôle of symposiarch, drank a great bowl of wine, put a garland on the big, brain-knotted head of Socrates, and declared that the reason why the old sage was not already drunken was because there was not wine enough in Greece to intoxicate him!

sion of strangers, and she was little annoyed by the recklessness of men.

In the matter of marriage the selection and contract were made by the parents. In making choice they were influenced not a little by those social considerations which the over-prudent father and mother have in all time been disposed to substitute for the preference of the parties most concerned. The prospective husband was not infrequently obliged to pay the debts of his father-in-law as a condition of betrothal. But as a general rule the selection of the husband or wife was made from the circle of friends and according to the wishes of the young people who were to be joined. Domestic happiness was, after all, the rule, and social misery the exception, in the households of the Greeks.

As it respects fidelity, the law was very severe with the women and very lax with the men. The discrimination in this regard was so great that in some stages of Greek society marriage was well-nigh at a discount in the presence of male abandonment. In the Ionian cities of Asia Minor and the archipelago, and more particularly in Corinth and Athens, a large class of women arose known as *hetæræ*, whose lives and influence were opposed to domestic ties and wifehood. Sometimes women of this class were accomplished to the last degree in the culture of their times. Such was Thargelia of Miletus, who, in her relations with the king of Persia, exercised an influence in favor of her country. Such especially was the renowned Aspasia, who by her association with Pericles became known and respected throughout all Greece. Such were her gifts and genius that both he and Socrates acknowledged their indebtedness to her for lessons in oratory and philosophy Nor should mention be omitted of Laïs, who obtained an ascendency over the cynical spirit of Diogenes. The story of the Bœotian Phryne is well known, whose charms exposed before the judges saved her from sentence of death, and whose beauty was made the inspiration of Praxiteles when he modeled the Venus of Knidos, and of Apelles, when he painted the goddess rising from the sea.

TYPES OF GREEK WOMEN.[1]

Looking for the home of the Greek we find nothing but description. Not a single house of the classical age has been preserved for the inspection of modern times. No Herculaneum or Pompeii has laid its contribution of protecting ashes on a Greek town or village. But the descriptions of the ancient writers are abundant, and from these may be

[1] For types of Men, see "Heroes of the Trojan War," p. 510.

drawn a fair reproduction of the abodes of the Hellenes. Their houses belonged to the Southern rather than the Northern type of buildings. Instead of one great hall lighted from without and steeply roofed, the house of the South consisted of an inclosure about a rectangular court, from which the light is admitted into the various apartments. It was a house of this sort in which the Greeks of the Heroic Age made their dwelling. Whether the common abode of the peasant or the palace of the prince the type was the same, the structure being varied merely in its details and adornment.

The first distinctive feature of the Greek house within was the division into a man's and a woman's department—the *andronitis* and the *gynæconitis*. Above the first court was a second or even a third, according to the wealth and ambition of the builder. In villages and other situations where there was abundance of room, the ground-plan was a rectangle about twice as great in length as in breadth, but in cities where space on the streets was valuable the fronts of the houses were narrowed, and the depth and height of the buildings proportionally increased.

On the outside the houses of the Greeks were generally stuccoed and painted. In the second story front some small windows looked down on the street. Between two columns below was the door, which was guarded by a slave, and was opened at the signal of knocks. Between the door and the street were the apartments of the servants, arranged on either side of a passage.

The andronitis, or man's hall, was generally surrounded with columns. This apartment occupied the front of the dwelling. Here the man of the house attended to his private affairs, assisted by his steward and servants. Here he prosecuted his studies. Here were his parchments. Here he received and entertained his friends. Here was spread the banquet—of which an account has already been given. From the andronitis a passage leading to the rear entered the woman's hall or gynæconitis, where were arranged the various apartments for the female occupants of the house. Here the women lodged, washed the linen, spun and wove. From these rooms a second passage, closed by a gate, led into the garden in the rear of the dwelling, or into the street if the building extended the whole depth of the square.

In the center of the whole establishment was the court called the *Prostas*—a place sacred to religious devotions. Here stood the family altar. Here in the background was set up the statue of Hestia, the protectress of the hearthstone. Here were celebrated the festivals and anniversaries of the family. Here were offered the sacrifices and vows of religion. Here the marriage was celebrated. Here the new-born child was joyously welcomed into the household. Here at the altar of Hestia was the refuge of the slave and panting fugitive who fled thither for protection.

From the earliest times the Greeks took pride in decorating their houses. Already in the Homeric age ornaments of metal and ivory were beaten or carved for the adornment of the walls and cornice. In the most ancient ruins which have been uncovered—those of Mycenæ and Tiryns—the work of decoration is already fully displayed, even in the Treasure-house of Atreus. The work of the hammer and the chisel preceded that of the brush. So far as artistic painting is concerned, it was at first restricted to buildings of a public character. Alcibiades is said to have been the first to employ a painter to fresco and ornament his house with artistic figures in color. Afterwards, however, down to the times of Alexander the Great, this kind of decoration grew in fashion, especially in Athens, until all except the poorest houses bore some trace of the artist's skill. Even Zeuxis was many times called from his studio to honor with his brush the palaces and villas of the wealthy Athenians.

It is the peculiarity of modern times that mechanical skill has taken the precedence of art. One of the results of this interchange of faculties is the superior elegance and splendor of modern furniture as compared with that of antiquity. Still the latter was not wanting in many evidences of artistic taste, and especially in a certain Oriental magnifi-

cence. Of course, the couches and tables of the kings of the East were gorgeous to the last degree, but in democratic Greece the same class of motives did not exist for rich and costly trappings. Here it was merely the gratification of the æsthetic faculties that led to whatever elegance was displayed in the furniture of the Grecian dwelling. This taste led to a considerable variety of patterns and designs. The chairs, tables, and couches were frequently of costly workmanship. Sometimes the frames were cast of bronze, or when carved of wood were inlaid with silver and ivory. The feet and exposed parts of the frames of such articles of furniture were generally executed in imitation of the form of some animal or creature of mythology—the lion's paw, the dolphin's back, the half-developed form of a nymph. Many of the chairs, especially those of the women, were of great elegance, the backs being carved to fit the person, and the seats laid with ornamented cushions, upon which the deft fingers of the maidens of Greece had exhausted their skill.

The Greek couch consisted of a kind of bench for the mattress, guarded at one end with a head-board, but without a back. Over this, in the earlier times, were laid covers, but these at a later date were superseded with cushions filled with feathers. The bedstead, like the frame of the chair, was sometimes artistically designed, and sometimes plainly—even roughly—executed, according to the taste and means of the owner. The frame of the bed was generally concealed by drapery drawn around it, the same being ornamented with fringes, tassels, and gold and silver embroidery.

Preserved in chests in the gynæconitis were the articles of the toilet belonging to the women—a numerous array of caskets, cosmetics, and jewelry. Indeed, no people, whether ancient or modern, have given more attention to artistic care of the person than did the matrons and maidens of Greece. But the peculiarity of the latter was, to their honor, that their whole notion of personal attractiveness as heightened by art consisted in beautifying and not destroying nature.

Night divides the world with the day. What should the Greeks do in the darkness? It is matter of surprise that the great genius of the race did not more concern itself with the matter of artificial illumination. The problem of light was one in which neither they nor any other people of antiquity seemed to take much interest. The homes of the Greeks were lighted with oil-lamps with wicks, and the streets with torches. In the actual contrivance there seems to have been no advance from the first principles, such as are adopted by half-civilized races in illumination; but in the designs of the lamps it is easy to discover the peculiar and superior qualities of Greek taste. These have the most elegant forms, being of that flat, bowl-like pattern which the best modern art is proud to imitate. They were ornamented with an endless variety of designs, some in color and some in relief—vines and fruits and figures of animals and birds. The materials in most common use were terra-cotta and bronze, but the rich had their lamps of silver and sometimes of gold. They were designed for hanging or standing, and for the latter use were supported by candelabra of the slenderest and most beautiful styles. These were set by the couches in the andronitis, and here reclined the Greek in the evening and read. Near by stood the library, with its tiers of pigeon-holes, into which were inserted the cylindrical cases containing the rolls of manuscript.

The material used in writing was prepared papyrus brought from Egypt. Upon this the poem or disquisition of the philosopher was carefully copied by a scribe. The Greek manuscripts were generally executed with great care and exquisite finish as to neatness and accuracy. In the house of a prominent and influential man a small library of favorite authors might always be expected. In the age of the Macedonian ascendency, however, the library became a public rather than a private enterprise; and the example of Alexander in founding in Egypt and elsewhere vast collections of books was emulated by nearly all the great men of subsequent times. Book collectors were common in Greece, and the possession of rare or exquisite rolls was in many a rage, as in modern times. Of this

sort were the poet Euripides and the philosopher Aristotle, both of whom distinguished themselves by accumulating large libraries of valuable and rare works.

Other connoisseurs there were who turned their energies to the collection of articles of a non-literary character. Old things of quaint device and singular pattern were eagerly sought after by the dilettanti and hunters of bric-a-brac, just as the relics and fashions of the fourteenth century are now pursued by the fanciers of what is valuable for being out of date. Indeed, this taste for the rare and curious was as keen in the Greeks as in any of the monomaniacs of our day. The lyre of Orpheus was hunted as eagerly as the wood of the True Cross is now sought by those who believe in its virtues. One Greek carved an ivory chariot and four horses of such stupendous proportions that the whole could be covered by the wings of a house-fly, and another executed two verses of Homer on a grain of sesame! Art becomes ingenuity in Lilliput!

The care of the Greek household was largely intrusted to the slaves. These were owned by all families except the poorest. The morality of the institution was never questioned even by the philosophers. With them human freedom meant freedom for the Greek. Not even the author of the *Atlantis* seems ever to have troubled himself about the existence of slavery in his own country. The slaves were all barbarians, either taken in battle or purchased in the market. He who went to war with a Greek did it with a knowledge that he was running the risk of perpetual servitude with the chances greatly against him. Still, however, the condition he would be thus exposed to was far more tolerable than in any other ancient state.

The slave of the Greek, though subject to his master, was not as a rule treated with severity. He might marry and have a household of his own. In sickness and old age he was released from toil, and cared for with decency if not with tenderness. Ties of friendship and even of intimacy were not infrequently contracted between slave and master which survived all vicissitude and ended only with life. Albeit the condition of the Helots in Sparta—a subject race belonging to the soil and transferred with it as serfs—was an estate totally different from common chattel slavery as it presented itself in Athens and the other cities of Central Greece.

The slave-class in Attica was very numerous. In a population of five hundred and fifty thousand souls, fully four hundred thousand were slaves—being in the ratio of three to one of the free citizenship. This enormous element of population was distributed, as we have already seen, into the houses of the free Greeks and into the factories, quarries, mines, and indeed in all places where "naked human strength" was the thing required. In the house of any well-to-do Greek citizen a retinue of about twenty slaves, male and female, was required for the service. Upon them was devolved the entire labor, though not the superintendence, of the establishment. In the gynæconitis the mistress of the house and her daughters sat among the domestics and supervised and directed in all that was done. The householder meanwhile ordered his division of the servants to their various tasks, and then went to the market-place to talk politics and discuss the management of the war. There is little doubt that the institution of slavery among the Greeks was thus the blind complement of that factious democracy which, uncurbed by useful tasks of labor, inserted its idle talons in the breast of the state and tore out her vitals.—Such were the manners and institutions of the Hellenes in the times of their power and renown.

CHAPTER XL.—RELIGION.

A BRIEF sketch of the religion of the Greeks, considered apart from their system of mythology, will be appropriate before the traditions and civil history of the race are presented. When we consider the moral elvation of the Olympian hierarchy there is not much to admire. The gods who dwelt on that sublime height were of the same sort with the men who dwelt at its base. "Like men like gods," might well apply to the Greek family, whether terrestrial or celestial. There is not much wonder, therefore, that the former should not greatly respect the latter, since they saw them as beings of like passions with themselves.

Consulting the literature of the Greeks from Homer to Aristophanes one might well conclude that the Hellenes were a people devoid not only of the genuine religious instinct but even of a decent respect for their deities. Such, however, would be far from a true conclusion. Perhaps in many instances the fantastic legends of tradition were brushed aside by the lucid intelligence and skeptical disposition of the Greeks, but behind the fiction the substance of the thing remained in the imagination of the people: and the substance was adored with a sincere veneration.

The beings, then, whom the Greeks worshiped were regarded as the guardians of mankind and the avengers of evil. To them belonged the reward of virtue and the punishment of crime. They hasted not in their work, but their work was sure. They observed the minds and hearts of men, honored the upright, regarded the faithful, heard the voice of supplication. This was the ground-faith of the Greek, whether philosopher or peasant. Nor does it appear that the most skeptical spirit ever wholly shook it off. Socrates himself was in the habit of prayer, and disdained not to consult an oracle.

There was thus in the ofttimes frivolous nature of the Greek a sincere vein of piety. His earliest efforts in art were permeated with devotion. Homer's heroes believe most implicitly in the gods—pray to them, fear them. The Grecian states, taking up the theme, denounce impiety. He whose teachings seem dangerous, or whose life is sacrilegious, is banished or put to death. The memory of the impious is execrated. All this shows a deep-seated, though often misdirected, vein of religious sentiment in the people.

All the principal acts in the drama of Greek life were introduced with religious ceremony. The man of the house was the priest. He needed no other. He said his own prayers. He made his own offerings for himself and his family. When he prayed to the gods of the air he stood with upturned face and held his hands aloft. If he supplicated the deities of the deep, his hands were stretched to the sea. The birth of the child, the betrothal, the marriage, the funeral—all the chief events in the life of the household—were sanctioned with some religious rite.

As early as the days of Homer the Greeks raised the altar of sacrifice. Upon this the worshiper offered his gifts and victims. Of things without life those most brought to the sacrificial fire were fruit and cakes, oil and wine, milk and honey. In offering living victims the best of the flock or herd was selected, and sometimes, as in the case of the hecatomb, as many as a hundred animals were slain at once. Not all of the creature offered, but only certain parts were burned in the fire; the remainder was eaten by the worshipers and the priests. Even in the shedding of blood the æsthetic taste of the Greek appeared, for the beast to be offered was wreathed as to his head and horns with a garland of flowers. The neck of the animal was sprinkled with salt and consecrated barley, and then the knife let out the creature's life.

As already said, every free Greek—and

every Greek was free—could act as his own priest. The introduction, therefore, of a class of priests was merely a matter of preference and division of labor. It was rather in connection with certain sacred places, seats of the gods, oracles, etc., that the services of a regular priesthood seemed to be demanded. In the great temples, also, groups of priests were a necessity of the service; but they gathered about the shrine, not by hereditary right or by appointment of a superior hierarchy, but simply by that natural selection which, working among men, sends some to one vocation and some to another. The rank and rights of citizenship were no more sacrificed by the assumption of priestly duties than by the doctor in treating a patient or the lawyer in pleading a cause.

There is no doubt, however, that the priests, having once assumed the sacred office, acquired thereby a certain dignity and honor. They were respected and venerated by all classes. The popular imagination associated them with the holy rites which they celebrated, with the solemn temple where they lived, and even with the high gods whom they served. They thus acquired a great reputation for sanctity, and a consequent influence over the minds of the people. Nor was their reputation less distinguished for the learning which they claimed by tradition and oracular response. They were well acquainted with the old unwritten laws and venerated customs of the Greeks, and thus became a conservative force in the state—a force not without a salutary influence on the distracting and revolutionary tendencies of such a people.

Among the Greeks the belief in prophecy was very general; and here again freedom had her way, for any one might be a prophet. The gods were no respecters of persons. The voice of the deity might be heard by any one as well as by a priest. If the latter was more frequently in communion with the supernal powers, it was only because he dwelt near some shrine or sacred haunt which the god delighted to frequent. The signs by which in earth or sea or sky the deities made known their will were not of private interpretation; and so the many rather than the few heard and recognized the voices from on high.

But in the case of the oracles the divine responses were delivered by the priests. The inquiries of those who would learn the mysteries of the future and of fate were borne to the inner place by priestly hands and submitted to the god for answer. Such was the usage at Dodona, in Epirus, the most ancient oracle of Zeus. In the rustling of the oak leaves were heard the breathings of that great Immortal who was held to be the first among the powers of heaven; but the noise in the oaks was unintelligible save to the sacred persons who were by holy life and residence in the groves acquainted with the meaning of the mysterious messages. Such also was the method of obtaining responses at the still more famous shrine of the prophetic Apollo, at Delphi. This oracle was the most celebrated in Greece, perhaps in the world. In the classical age the greatest intellects recognized the validity of the Delphic responses, and the weightiest affairs of state hung breathless until the answer was delivered.

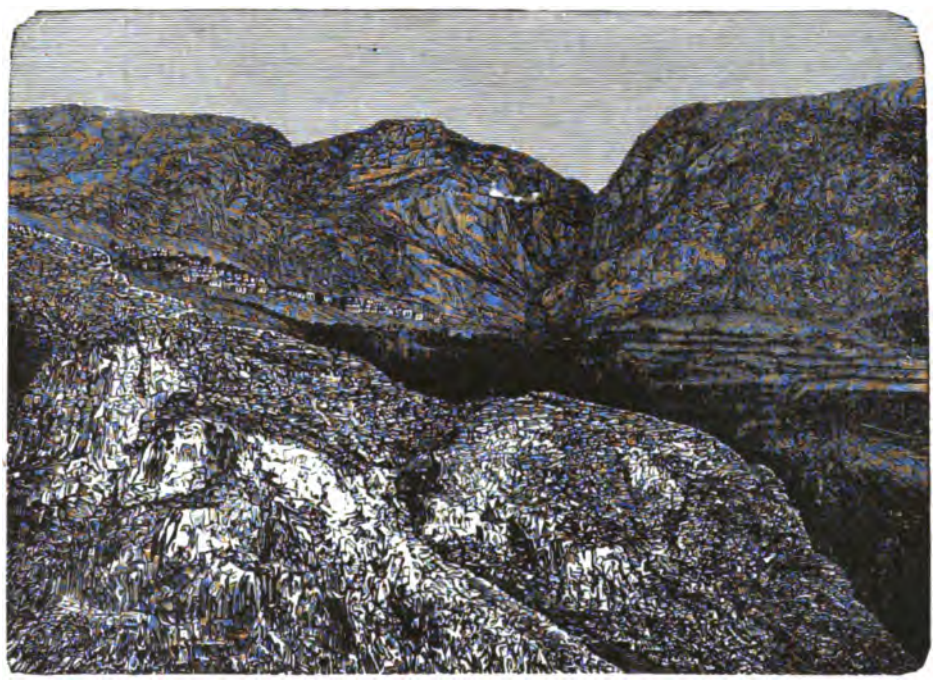
The spot chosen by Apollo for his favorite haunt was a wild ravine at the foot of Parnassus. The scene was grand and solitary. Only the murmur of a brook broke the impressive silence. On either hand rose vertical walls of rock. Here in this gorge the god of light and poesy and song had slain the Python, the great dragon of darkness and barbarism. The Castalian fountain sprang from the spot, and the Muses made it their home. Here from a cleft in the rock issued that intoxicating vapor which benumbed the senses of man and brought him into communion with the deity. The tongue of the intoxicated became the oracle of the god. Around the sacred spot holy men gathered to muse and pray. Here houses were built. Here a shrine was erected for the deity. Here rose the holy city of Delphi, whose fame as the seat of divine inspiration spread first throughout all Greece and then to the ends of the civilized world.

He who would inquire of Apollo came bringing gifts. Something precious must be brought in recompense for prophecy. Treas-

ures of gold and silver and sculpture and painting were cast in profusion into the divine thesaurus, until the shrine became rich beyond estimate. In times of turbulence and war the eyes of the irreligious were cast longingly towards the accumulated treasures in the house of Apollo, and more than once the profane hand of expediency was laid upon them.

The Delphic responses were obtained through the lips of a priestess called the PYTHIA. She was chosen from the women of Delphi, and was especially consecrated to her sacred office. Once every month she purified herself by fasting and ablutions. She chewed laurel leaves, bathed in and drank from the Castalian spring. Then she went into that part of the temple where the fissure in the native rock still gave forth its vapor. She seated herself on the tripod, and was soon intoxicated with the gas. Then she fell down in a swoon. She uttered wild ejaculations in her delirium, and these were caught up by the attending priests and wrought into oracular—generally ambiguous—responses to the inquiries which had been propounded. As a rule the answers were rendered in hexameter verse, but in later times the priests, grown less careful, gave back the reply in prose.

In these conditions were laid the foundations of the priestly lore which was cultivated at Delphi. It was the business of the college to know the actual state of affairs, not only in Greece, but, as far as practicable, in all the surrounding nations. By such information the priests could know, and did know, beforehand the kind of inquiries which would arise out of the political and social conditions of the country. They accordingly busied themselves in framing and answering supposititious questions, and in this line of work acquired not a little skill. In the ordinary affairs of politics and war they were very well prepared to give intelligent advice, or even to predict with approximate certainty the natural course of events. When, however, it came to the actual domain of prophecy and to matters of which the priest could know no more than another, he had necessary recourse to fraud, and this he found in the construction of ambiguous responses—couplets which could be made to read both ways in the light of the dénouement. Thus Crœsus was told that if he crossed the Halys he would destroy a great



DELPHI AND PARNASSUS.

kingdom. Whose kingdom? His own, or that of Cyaxares? The former, as it proved; the latter, as it was hoped. Thus was the credit of Apollo and his priests maintained against the hazard of contingency.

There were, however, those among the witty Greeks who fathomed and derided the double. utterances of Delphi. The comic poets found the Apollonian ambiguity a precious morsel. They imitated the style of the confused priest, and made him the butt of profane mirth. Aristophanes introduces the leather-seller Cleon and a sausage-maker, and the decision of a squabble between them is thus oracularly rendered:

" Moreover, when the eagle in his pride,
With crooked talons and a leathern hide,
Shall seize the black and blood-devouring snake,[1]
Then shall the woeful tan-pits quail and quake;
And mighty Zeus shall give command and place
To mortals of the sausage-selling race:
Unless they choose, continuing as before,
To sell their sausages for evermore."

The satire was all the keener for being in the exact vein of the Delphic utterances. But despite the sharp darts that were thus leveled against them, the Delphic priesthood held their own for many centuries, and did not perceptibly wane in their influence over the public mind until after the establishment of the Roman Empire.

Of scarcely less importance than the oracles were the MYSTERIES of the Greeks. These were rites celebrated in secret orders, and intended to gratify a higher grade of religious aspirations than could be satisfied by the popular faith. The orders were open only to those who could establish by satisfactory proofs the previous rectitude and purity of their lives. To such the promise of a calmer and more elevated frame of mind, a deeper hope of present peace and future immortality, was held forth on condition of entering the mysteries. Every pure Greek might aspire to membership in one of the sacred orders. Even women were admitted with the men to equal participancy in the new life of holiness and consecration.

THE PYTHIA ON THE TRIPOD.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

To attain the highest rank in one of the mysteries, the candidate had to pass three degrees. He was first initiated; then, after a season of probation, advanced to a second de-

[1] Meaning *a sausage!*

gree; and finally admitted to the third or highest rank, in which he was enrolled with the *epoptæ*, or "beholders"—for such were allowed to behold the unveiled myths of the national religion.

The two principal mysteries of Greece were those celebrated at Eleusis and at Samothrace. The latter place was a small island in the Ægean, on which from the earliest times a society had flourished whose aim was to interpret and illustrate the secrets of nature. What these secrets were, and by what ceremonies they were interpreted, have never been ascertained—so thick and carefully drawn was the curtain between the "initiated" and the outer world of vulgar sense. More famous far were the mysteries known as Eleusinian. These were celebrated at the city of Eleusis, in Attica. The society was in great repute, and many of the most distinguished Athenians were proud to be numbered among the *epoptæ*. Here, too, the secrecy was profound. Only thus much is known, that the mysteries of nature—especially those appertaining to life—were sought to be unveiled to the senses and perceptions of men by the rites of the celebrants. The two deities honored within the veil were Demeter, the great Earth-mother, and Dionysus, the wine-god. Eleusis was the seat of one of the most celebrated of the Greek myths—that in which Demeter, after searching long by land and sea, at last learned that her lost daughter Persephone had been married to Hades, the dark specter of the under world, and that she was now his queen in the realms below. Here the mother procured her daughter's return to life and joy—at least for a season.[1] The myth became the basis of the mystery which the initiated were to explain and illustrate with their rites—the mystery of the varying and beautiful processes of life.

In the months of August and September of each year, after the harvests had been gathered, a period of twelve days was set apart for the celebration of the great feast known as the *Eleusinia*. Athens abandoned herself to the occasion. Strangers came from all parts of Greece to be present at the anniversary. First the candidates and initiates prepared themselves by bathing in the sea, by fasting and sacrifice. Then for five days offerings were made to Demeter and Dionysus; and on the sixth was the great procession, in which the ancient statue of Dionysus, garlanded with flowers and bearing a torch in his hand, was brought with loud acclaim and laughter and song from Athens to Eleusis. It was always arranged that the procession should not reach its destination until nightfall. The image of the god was borne after dark into a great building, where the mysteries were celebrated, and here under the flickering glare of torches were begun the awful ceremonies which occupied the remainder of the festival. Before the close of the mysterious proceedings Persephone was welcomed back to earth, and then hilarity and banqueting succeeded to the previous despondency and gloom.

The proper feast of Dionysus was wilder and more extravagant in character than that of Demeter. As sometimes celebrated, it was an orgy in which the participants abandoned themselves to frantic excesses. At the *Dionysia* in Athens it was regarded as a duty in those who took part in the exercises to become drunken. Every one crowned himself with ivy and flowers, and offered to him whom he met a cup of wine. The image of Bacchus was borne about in processions, and a wild crew of Satyrs, Bacchantes, and Pans rushed madly along, piping and shouting till the day became an uproar and the night hideous.

The great local religious festival of the Athenians was called the *Panathenæa*. It was celebrated every fourth year in honor of Pallas Athene, the patron goddess of the city. On the return of the anniversary Athens was crowded with strangers. Hither came a throng of poets, musicians, artists, gymnasts, showmen, mountebanks—every type of humanity known to the world of the Greeks. It was a time of excitement, of competition, of the exhibition of skill in achievement and strength.

[1] Persephone represents Life. In the summer she rejoices in leaf and bud and flower. But in winter Pluto takes her under the earth. She is seen no more. She is queen of the dark abodes in the Land of Gloom. With the sunshine of spring she returns and gladdens her mother, Earth.

The great day was the day of the procession. In the morning outside of the city the throngs gathered. Here the column was formed. At the head of the procession came a band of flute players and citharists. Then followed the Athenian soldiery—infantry and cavalry. Behind this division marched all those who had ever been crowned as victors in the public contests of the country. The next division was composed of priests, leading

THE ELEUSINIAN FEAST.—Drawn by H. Vogel.

the animals presently to be offered in sacrifice. Next followed the old men of Athens, each carrying some costly gift to be offered to the goddess. Then came the woman's column of the procession—matrons and maidens chosen for their beauty and reputation. In the midst they drew in a car the *peplos*, or embroidered robe, with which the statue of Pallas was to be clad at the end of the march.

Through the beautiful streets of the city the procession made its way, pausing at the various shrines and altars, and then ascended the hill to the citadel. Before the temple a burst of music was sounded from the instruments, and then, in the sublime presence of the Protectress of the city, the votive gifts were laid and the sacrifices offered by the priests.

If the Greek mind, participating in these great festivals, could have been fathomed, there would have been revealed a double class of sentiments; the one looking joyfully upon life, and the other scanning death with appre-

hension and dread.[1] There were exhibited in the different parts of the ceremonies the traces of these conflicting feelings, the one class tending to produce merriment and even rap-

[1] No one can thoughtfully study the life of the Athenians without being constantly reminded of the Parisians of the last and present centuries. Athens was the Paris of antiquity, and Paris is the Athens of the modern world. There are to be seen in both peoples the same qualities of nature—that same excitability of temper, in which are strangely mingled the opposites of heroism and weakness, of excessive joyousness and deep gloom, of hope and despair.

ture under the beautiful aspects of the world, and the other class tending to gloom and despondency under the shadow of the coming doom! To the Greek, Life meant every thing of happiness which the most exuberant fancy could depict, and Death meant what Homer and the heroes believed it to be, a dreary and joyless existence beyond the inky Styx.

In those matters which the ancients designated by the general name of piety the Greeks were worthy to be commended. Suffering excited their sympathy. Sorrow called for kindred tears. To the dead were due the sacred rites of sepulture. Even the passing stranger should, for humanity's sake, sprinkle a few handfuls of earth on the unburied corse exposed by the way. The atrocious spite of the Orientals in pursuing the lifeless body of the foe with insult and mutilation was abhorred by the sensitive Greeks, who saw in the lifeless frame only the sad relic of mortality. Only in the highest heat of battle was any indignity offered to the dead by the humane soldier of Hellas.

When a Greek fell into his last slumber, the friends immediately composed the body and laid upon the mouth the ferriage-fee for Charon. The corse was clad in white and laid upon a bier. Flowers were brought by the mourning friends, who put on badges of sorrow. On the morrow the corse was burned and the ashes committed to an urn. In the later times the horror known as earth burial became common, and finally prevailed over the former beautiful and cleanly method of purification by fire.

After burial in the earth became the usual method of bestowing the dead, cemeteries were arranged outside the city walls. Sometimes there were single tombs here and there, where some distinguished person had been buried within his own premises. In other parts there were public burying-grounds, in which there was a vast aggregate of graves. Over each was raised a mound of earth, and on this were planted ivy and roses. The coffin of the Greeks was an elongated ellipse, generally of terra-cotta, resembling somewhat the "dish-cover" burial cases of the Chaldæans.[1] Over the grave was erected a memorial stone or monument, and on this was an inscription giving the name of the dead, an effigy perhaps of his person, a word of praise for his virtues, and an epigram composed for his memory. The epitaphs of the Greeks were of the highest order of merit and originality; nor was there about the grave any of those symbols of lugubrious woe which since the Middle Age have added so much to the horrors of the city of the dead.

In the coffin of the Greek, Superstition performed her usual little drama. The personal ornaments worn by the deceased were laid with his body—a pardonable weakness and mark of respect. But there were also vessels for fruit and oil—the drinking-cup, the cake of bread, the beverage for the departed. The articles thus put away with the dead for his use have risen for the edification of mankind; but he to whom they were given in death—

"Sleeps the sleep that knows not breaking."

[1] See Book Second, p. 127.

CHAPTER XLI.—MYTH AND TRADITION.

TRUE interpretation of the myths of the Greeks has been one of the most difficult problems imposed on modern scholarship. Longfellow tells a story how the infant Christ, having forgotten the name of the letter *aleph*, and being informed by his teacher that it was *aleph*, suddenly startled his instructor with the question. "But, please good Rabbi, what does aleph *mean?*" The question of the myth to us is, not so much *What is it? but, What does it mean?*

Many theories have been advanced to explain the origin and true nature of the myths of antiquity. They are the peculiar property of the Aryan race. Among the Semitic nations mythology did not, could not, flourish—this for reasons to be hereafter explained. But the Aryans were a people whose brains teemed with myths.

In the next place it should be observed that all branches of the Aryan family had the *same* myths, almost infinitely varied and inflected, it is true, but yet at bottom the same. Just as the different languages of the Indo-European race are fundamentally identical, so the mythology of that race in all its multitudinous outbranchings flows from a common fountain and has the same identical substance. The myths of India, Greece, Italy, Germany, and Scandinavia differ not in material, but only in development. The same story runs from the valley of the Indus to Iceland, from the frozen North to the waters of the southern seas.

But of all the mythologies no other was so highly developed as that of Greece. The same exuberance which characterized the other elements of Greek life seems to have given a double impulse to the myths of Hellas. Both in number and completeness they far surpass the fictions of any of the sister peoples of the ancient world.

In the first place it may be well to sketch again what may be called the *personnel* of Grecian mythology. In the beginning was CHAOS. Chaos wedded NIGHT. From them sprang the HEAVEN and the EARTH. The Heaven was URANUS; the Earth, GÆA. Uranus succeeded Chaos in the government of the universe. Then was born CRONOS. Cronus had Uranus, the Heaven, for his father, and Gæa, the Earth, for his mother. Time was born of the Heaven and the Earth. Gæa had other children, born perhaps of Chaos. These were the CYCLOPES and BRONTE and STEROPE. Bronte and Sterope were Thunder and Lightning. These chaotic offspring were hurled by Uranus into Tartarus; but Gæa was in pain for the banishment of her children. She persuaded Cronos and the other children of Uranus to mutiny against him. He was seized by them, mutilated, dethroned; and Cronos, the eldest of the sons, took the throne of the father. Time usurped the dominion of Heaven.

Cronos wedded RHEA, another daughter of Uranus and Gæa. Rhea was the Earth.[1] Of Time and Earth were born the days. But Time swallowed his offspring as soon as they were born, and Rhea was in anguish for her children. About to be delivered of ZEUS, she gave her lord a stone, and he swallowed that instead of the child. Zeus inherited the heavens, and became first among gods and men. He was the Blue Sky. He was the Light. Though the Days perished he was immortal.—Such is the first span from Chaos to Zeus—from Confusion to Light and Order.

Zeus enthroned delivered the Cyclopes from their dungeon. In return they gave him back Bronte, the Thunderbolt. With this he warred against the TITANS. In the war he was aided by Forethought. Forethought was PROMETHEUS; but Prometheus filched fire from heaven and kindled it for men below.

[1] Rhea — the Greek *era*, by transposition of the *r* — Latin *terra*, earth.

For this was Forethought seized and bound to the rugged cliffs of Caucasus to suffer unending tortures. Afterwards Zeus and his two brothers, HADES and POSEIDON, drew lots for the different parts of the universe. The sovereignty of heaven fell to Zeus; the sea, to Poseidon; and the world below to Hades.

Zeus was thus established at the head of the Greek pantheon. He took for his spouse his sister HERA,[1] daughter of Cronos and Rhea. A numerous divine progeny sprang up to the Father of gods and men. His eleven children, constituting with himself the Olympian hierarchy, or "twelve gods," were Leto and her two children, APOLLO and ARTEMIS, ARES, HERMES, ATHENA, HEPHÆSTUS, HESTIA, DEMETER, APHRODITE, and HERA, who is sometimes reckoned as the daughter rather than the sister of Zeus. These gods held their court on Olympus, as the two subordinate courts of Poseidon and Hades were held respectively in the sea and the underworld of darkness.—It will be appropriate to notice briefly the power and province ascribed by the Greek imagination to each of these gods and goddesses.

Zeus was the chief deity of the Hellenic race. He was subject to nothing but Fate. The Greeks believed in an absolute Necessity which held the universe in its clutches. To this all men and gods must bow in submission. Zeus was constrained by the Absolute. Otherwise he was supreme. He did his will. He established his seat on Olympus, and from that cloudy summit ruled the world. In final causation every thing, whether good or bad, flowed from him. The destiny of all mortals, and in some sense of all immortals, was directed by his nod. He took for his wife METIS, by whom he became the father of Athena; then THEMIS, who was the mother of the HORÆ and the PARCÆ—the Hours and the Fates; then EURYNOME, of whom were born the Graces; then HESTIA and MNEMOSYNE, whose children were PERSEPHONE and the MUSES; then LETO, who bore him APOLLO and ARTEMIS; and then JUNO, who became the mother of ARES, HEBE, and HEPHÆSTUS. So the king of the gods took to himself the epithet "Olympian." He sat on his throne and hurled the thunderbolt. To him was erected the shrine among the oaks of Dodona, and afterwards the splendid temple at Olympia, the latter containing the celebrated

COLOSSAL HEAD OF ZEUS.
The Otricoli mask, of the Vatican.

chryselephantine statue of the god done by Phidias.

Hera was regarded by the Greeks as the queen of heaven. She bore, in some sense, the same relation to women as Zeus did to men. She was the patroness of marriage, and under the epithet of *Elethyia* presided over the birth of mortals. In the Homeric legends she is represented as the least amiable of the divinities—jealous and petulant to the extent of keeping the other Olympians, and especially Zeus, in perpetual trouble. She even organized a conspiracy with Poseidon against her husband to dethrone and imprison

[1] It will be well in this connection to give once for all the Latin and Greek equivalents for the names of the principal deities—thus: Ouranos=Uranus; Cronos=Saturn; Zeus=Jupiter, or Jove; Hades=Pluto; Poseidon=Neptune; Hera=Juno; Apollon=Apollo; Artemis=Diana; Leto=Latona; Ares=Mars; Hermes=Mercury; Athena=Minerva; Hephæstus=Vulcan; Hestia=Vesta; Demeter=Ceres; Aphrodite=Venus.

him; but he, discovering the plot, seized her and hung her in the clouds. She was haughty and imperious. In the Trojan war she

COLOSSAL HEAD OF HERA.—Villa Ludovici.

espoused the cause of the Greeks, and was regarded as the chief source of the woes of Ilium. Her principal seats of worship were at Argos, Samos, and Sparta. At the first-named place was built her finest temple, and in this was her colossal statue done in ivory and gold.

When the lots were cast for the sovereignty of the universe the sea fell to Poseidon, son of Cronos and Rhea. He was not especially represented as inhabiting the waters, but rather as having dominion over the movements of the great deep. His vicegerent, NEREUS, lived in the sea, just as HELIOS dwelt in the sun, while the destiny of the orb was controlled by PHŒBUS APOLLO. The meaning of the name of Poseidon is not certainly known, and from that source nothing can be gathered of his nature. He is represented in the Iliad and Odyssey as equal in dignity to Zeus, but inferior to him in power. To Poseidon was attributed a part of the work of creation. He was said to be the maker of the horse. He was called the "Keeper of the Earth," and the "World-Shaker"—titles indicative of almost Jovine majesty. In one legend he disputes the sovereignty of Greek cities with Athena, Hera, and Helios. As a rule he was loyal to Zeus, cheerfully conceding to him the supreme dominion; but in one instance, at the instigation of Hera and Athena, he conspired to dethrone the king of the gods, but the plot was revealed by Thetis; and the hundred-handed BRIAREUS was placed beside the throne to guard it against rebellions.

Poseidon had his palace in the deep waters near Ægæ, on the shores of Eubœa. Here he kept his golden-maned horses, which bore him swiftly in a sea-chariot over the surface of the deep. He controlled the ocean in time of storms, lest it should sweep the land from its foundations and overwhelm the world. Unlike Zeus, Poseidon was subject to other wills besides his own. He was sometimes compelled by the authority of his brother to do great works for men. He it was who, together with Heracles, was obliged by the council of the immortals to rebuild the walls of Troy for Laömedon, who refused to pay him for his services. The god, incensed at

POSEIDON.—Museo Chiaromonti.

this treatment, espoused the cause of Agamemnon and Menelaüs, and helped to wreak vengeance on the Trojans. But the most famous legend of Poseidon is that in which he contends with Athena for the naming of Athens. Zeus decreed that the name should be given

to that deity who conferred the greatest boon on the human family. Poseidon created and gave the horse. Athena offered as her gift the olive-tree. The award was made to Athena, for the olive, symbol of peace, was better than the horse that men ride to battle. Poseidon had for his wife the goddess AMPHITRITE—that jealous Nereid who threw the herbs into the well of Scylla and thus transformed her rival into a monster.

To Hades, brother of Zeus and Poseidon, fell the dominion of the unseen abodes under the earth, the dreary and desolate kingdom of darkness. The world was flat. Its surface belonged to the cheerful gods of light. All the gloomy realm below was the realm of the somber Hades. He was in some sort the antagonist of light and life. He seized Persephone, the fair daughter of Demeter, and drew her down from the upper world to be his wife in the abodes of gloom. Then the bereft mother Earth went about all winter long searching for her daughter Life.[1] The gloomy Hades agreed to give her up for half the year, but the other half she should dwell with him, and the Earth should be desolate in her absence.

Hades had charge of the mineral treasures of the earth. They lay hidden in dark caves, and were his especial property. And more especially since death is a mystery, since it is the coming of darkness, since man goes away into the shadows and is seen no more—to Hades was assigned the dominion of the dead. They went to him. His kingdom was the place of the unseen spirits. There, in his sunless abode, must the banished sons of mortality find their place. Hence was Hades called *Polydegmon*, the Receiver of Many—for he received many into his cheerless kingdom. Sometimes Hades was called the Zeus of the Nether World. His authority was absolute in his place of darkness. There he had his palace; and by the portals sat the grim dogs Orthros and Cerberus, the latter with his three terrible heads, guarding the approach to the abode of his master.

Athene was the daughter of Zeus. She sprang from his forehead cleft by the axe of Hephæstus. That is, the Dawn sprang from the forehead of Light split by the Sun! Athene is sometimes called *Tritogenia*, meaning Daughter of the Sky. She was the goddess of the Greek people just waking from the night of unconscious barbarism to the light of civilization. Her birds were the owl and the cock; the one sounding out the night, and the other trumpeting the clarion of day-break. To wake from slumber is to know. To know is to be wise. Hence, Athene was the goddess of wisdom. She knew the mind of Zeus. She is the Virgin Divinity of the Greek race. She is serene and high. Only once does she act unworthily. She it was who dressed Pandora when she was sent to Epimetheus bearing the fatal casket which contained the woes of the world. But she gave the olive-tree to Athens and received the name of the city.

Demeter was the Earth and the mother of Life — that beautiful Persephone whom the unfeeling Zeus gave to Hades. When the unsuspecting maiden was gathering flowers at Enna, the ground suddenly opened, and Hades, riding in a chariot drawn by coal-black horses, seized her and bore her down below. Demeter put on a mourning-robe, and wandered with a torch in her hand, searching for her daughter. She met HECATE, who told her that she had heard the cry of Persephone when Hades seized her. The mother then went to Helios, the Sun, and he told her the story of her daughter's doom. Then she wandered to Olympus, refusing to be comforted. Nor did the Earth any more yield her increase of fruits or flowers until Hermes was sent below to bring back Life from the darkness.

Hestia was the eldest daughter of Cronos and Rhea. She was the goddess of that sacred fire that burned on the hearthstone of home. The primitive theory of society was that all

[1] Persephone is close to Eve. Eve means *Life*, and should have been so rendered, and would have been but for the blundering of the English translators. The Seventy very properly rendered the Hebrew word by *Zoë*—"Life;" but King James's scholars fell back upon a corrupt imitation of the spelling of the Hebrew word, and the sense was lost. The woman was called *Life;* for she was the mother of all living.

men are enemies until reconciled. The hearth was the place of reconciliation; the fire was its symbol; Hestia, the divinity by whose agency it was accomplished. Of her but few myths are recorded. One recites that she was solicited to become the wife of Poseidon, but refused. The influence of this goddess, however, was as deeply felt as that of any other of the Olympians. Her worship required the performance of actual religious duties. Her altar became the conservator of home. He who acted treacherously, who broke the peace, who violated the laws of humanity, could never be a true votary of Hestia. She required truth in the inner parts, purity of heart, uprightness of action, sincerity of purpose and of life.

The peace of the domestic hearthstone was not enough. Each town had its *Prytaneium*, where a sacred fire was kept burning on a public hearth; and if at any time it was extinguished, it must be rekindled either by rubbing together pieces of wood or with a burning-glass; for a common fire was profane. Around this holy flame kindled from above the prytanes, or elders of the city, assembled and debated in homelike spirit the peace and welfare of the state. Likewise—so recounted the myth—there was in the center of the earth a hearthstone on which the fire was kept forever burning—the hearth or Prytaneium of the whole world.

Ares, son of Zeus and Hera, was the god of the tumult of war. He was not, as is popularly believed, the deity who gave direction and decided the issues of war, but rather the god of din, of uproar, of slaughter. He had little steadiness of character or purpose. He changed from side to side. He was any thing for a continuance of the noise and confusion of battle. He was an enemy of men, sending among them violence, plagues, famines. He was of gigantic stature, and when fallen his body measured rods on the earth. He might be wounded, and in that event his roaring was like the groans of ten thousand. He was called the "Grinder," for he ground into dust the hopes and pleasures of mankind. He gained Aphrodite for his wife, but when she was seen to prefer Adonis, Ares converted himself into a wild boar and wounded his rival to death. Having slain Halirrhothius, son of Poseidon, Ares was tried before the Olympian council, and being acquitted, was honored with the name of the great court of Athens, the Areopagus, which held its sittings on the Hill of Mars.

Aphrodite sprang from the foam of the sea. One legend of her origin made her the daughter of Uranus and Hemera, the Heaven and the Day. In another—and this is the story of the Iliad—she is called the daughter of Zeus and Dione. She was the goddess of beauty, of love, of passion. She was ever attended by the Horæ and the Charites. In honor of her origin she was given the names of Enalia and Pantia. Sometimes, as the goddess of pure affection, she was called Urania. The principal legend of this divinity is that which recites the award to her of the prize of beauty. At the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, Eris, the god of Strife, threw down a golden apple with the inscription, *To the most Beautiful.* It was claimed by Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite. Zeus left the award to be made by Paris, the son of Priam, and by him the prize was given to Aphrodite. She gave him in return the most beautiful woman in Greece, Helen of Sparta, wife of Menelaüs. And hence the Trojan war.

Aphrodite had for her husband Hephæstus, but she preferred Adonis, who loved her not in return. Once she was beloved by Poseidon; once, by Ares. Her human lover was Anchises of Troy, by whom she became the mother of Æneas, the ancestor of the Romans. The myths of Aphrodite are many and sometimes contradictory. Her character is that of vicissitude. She changes. Sometimes she is pure and tender; sometimes vehement and passionate. In the Spartan temple she was represented as a victorious goddess, conquering rather than winning, subduing rather than sustaining the spirits of her votaries.

Hephæstus was the presiding genius of the Olympian smithy. He was puny at birth, but powerful—as well as lame and ugly—when grown up. His delight was the forge. Here he fashioned the weapons of the gods

and the heroes. His career was hard and inglorious. His mother, Hera, was so displeased with his ugliness that she would banish him from Olympus. Afterwards he espoused her cause in a quarrel with Zeus, and by him was hurled down into the island of Lemnos. He subseqently regained a measure of favor, but never rose to a dignity higher than that of cupbearer to the gods. One of his myths is that when the armor of Achilles had been taken by Hector from the body of Patroclus, Hephæstus, at the prayer of Thetis, made for her son a new suit burnished till it flashed like the sun. His good fortune in winning Aphrodite for his wife was blasted by the wandering of her affections to Adonis.

Apollo had nearly always the epithet of Phœbus. He was the overpowering Brightness of the Sun. He did not, however, have his residence in the great orb of day, that being reserved for Helios. Phœbus was the son of Zeus and Leto. His mother wandered through many lands until she came at last to Delos, and promised that in return for shelter the island should become famous as the birthplace of her son. Here Phœbus was born; and the pledge of the mother was fulfilled; for from henceforth Delos became one of the sacred places of the Hellenes.[1] The island, once rocky and sterile, was covered with flowers and verdure. The nymphs came and wrappe the infant Apollo in a white robe. Themis fed him with nectar and ambrosia. He took a harp in his hand and declared himself the revealer of the will of Zeus to mankind.

As a god, Phœbus was the bringer of the light. Light was the harbinger of knowledge. He became the patron of learning and art and song. It was the ushering in of the Beautiful, not only for Greece, but for all the world. Barbarism drew a cowl over his leaden eyes and slunk into a cavern. The morning of civilization arose with the resplendent sun, drawn in the car of Phœbus. Darkness shivered and died in the sweet dawn of poesy. The flash of beauty and the victory of thought began in the luminous myth of Apollo.

> He had limbs, for strength and whiteness,
> Like the war-maid Amazon's,
> And his eye shot forth the brightness
> Of the Oriental sun's.
> By his mighty side and shoulder
> Hung the quiver and its darts;
> And the world has grown no older
> Since Apollo gave the arts!

The great oracle of Phœbus was at Delphi—the most famous of all the shrines of the Hellenes. Here it was that Apollo slew the Typhon, the terrible dragon of darkness that had so long kept the world in terror. Here it was that the inspiration of the gods, breathing from the crevice of the rocks, gave the Pythia her prophetic powers and made men acquainted with the future. Of all the worship known to the Greeks that of Apollo was most widely spread and influential. His voice, speaking through the oracle, not infrequently changed the current of Hellenic history. Under the shadow of his temple the Amphyctionic council of the Greek states, the greatest and wisest body of the nation, held its meetings, as if to gain for their deliberations the highest sanctions of wisdom and religion.

Like unto Apollo was his sister, Artemis. She possessed in general the same powers and attributes with her brother. With her name, however, are associated fewer myths than with most of the other divinities. She took part in the affairs of men more as a friend than an enemy. She gave to Procris her hound and spear. She healed Æneas when he fell wounded before Troy. But she insisted that Iphigenia should be sacrificed, and was implacable.

Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia, began his career by extemporizing a cithara from a tortoise shell. From this he proceeded to the theft of the cattle of Phœbus. Then he kindled fire by the friction of wood, and thus gave to the world the warmth of the cheerful flame: all this during the first day of his life Then followed the contest between himself and Phœbus respecting the stolen herd, the

[1] "The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece,
Where burning Sappho loved and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace,
Where *Delos* rose and *Phœbus* sprung."
—*Byron.*

trial of the cause in the court of Zeus, the placation of Apollo's temper by the device of music, the interchange of the lyre of Hermes for the wisdom of Phœbus, and to the treaty between the two deities—one of the most elaborate, interesting, and witty myths of the Greeks.

Such was the Olympian hierarchy. Besides the "twelve gods," however, there were many others believed in by the Hellenes. Such was Dionysus, the wine-god, to whom frequent reference has already been made. As to his parentage the myths are various. the most rational being that he was the son of Zeus and Semele, daughter of Cadmus, king of Thebes. She, tempted to her ruin, was visited by Zeus, and was destroyed by his lightnings; but Dionysus was born in the midst of the thunderbolts. He was brought up in Naxos, and passed through many and grievous toils before coming to his fame. His principal legend is that which recounts the history of the introduction of the vine. Dionysus stood on a cliff by the sea. Some Tyrrhenians passing in a ship saw him and took him. They bound him with withes, but these were broken off. As they sailed away a stream of wine flowed over the deck of the vessel, and a vine clambered up the masts. In the midst of the leaves hung bunches of luscious grapes.

One of the most famous of the myths was that of Heracles. He was the son of Zeus and Alcmene. By his father the greatness of his physical strength was predicted. In his cradle, as he lay sleeping, two serpents coiled themselves around him; but on waking he clutched them by the throats and choked them to death. As he grew he became the abused servant of Eurystheus, grandson of Perseus, who by the craft of Juno was substituted for Heracles in the kingdom. The latter was condemned for twelve years to toil for the benefit of man. His whole life was spent in performance of heavy tasks, too grievous to be undertaken by any other than this divine toiler. Twelve stupendous "labors" were imposed upon him, but neither did his patience fail nor his strength prove inadequate to his tasks. He strangled the great lion that infested the Nemæan valley. He slew the huge, nine-headed Lernæan hydra. He captured the Arcadian stag that had golden horns and brazen feet, of surpassing swiftness and strength. He took the Erymanthian boar, having chased him through the deep snow until exhausted he was caught in a snare. He cleansed the Augean stables, where three thousand oxen had been stabled for thirty years. To wash out the horrid aggregation the rivers Alpheus and Peneus were turned into the stalls, and the work was done in a single day. He destroyed the birds of Stamphalia, terrible creatures with claws and wings and beaks of brass, feeding upon the flesh of men. He captured the mad bull of Crete that Minos had neglected to sacrifice when sent by Poseidon. He carried away the wild mares of Diomedes that fed upon human beings, and brought them tamed to Mycenæ. He took away the girdle of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, which she had received as a gift from Ares. He seized the red oxen of Geryones, guarded as they were by the giant Eurytion and the two-headed dog Orthrus. He obtained the golden apples of the Hesperides, given by Rhea to Juno and protected by the dragon Ladon. Finally, he seized and carried to the upper world the three-headed dog Cerberus that stood guard at the portals of Hades. In his further career he went about doing good to men, in beating back the adverse forces of nature and subduing the monsters that infested the primeval world.

In tracing the course of Grecian mythology, it is quite impossible to tell precisely where the godlike ends and the heroic begins. There is a point at which the deeds of the actor become the exploits of a man—exaggerated doubtless beyond the range of human performance, but still essentially the exploits of a man. At that point the myth proper descends into a legend; the element of the supernatural gradually disappears; and tradition begins to lay the foundation of history. But before entering the domain of what may be called the traditions and legends of Greece as distinguished from her mythology proper—or so much of it as appertains to the lives and deeds of the gods—it will be appropriate

to add a few paragraphs on the *signification* of the Hellenic myths. What did they *mean?* How did they originate? How did the gods of the Greeks become what they were in the imagination of the people? These questions are not to be answered with over-assurance of certainty, but with a modest caution and reserve.

In the first place, then, the mythology of the Hellenic race should be regarded a *System of Natural Philosophy.* It was an effort of the human mind to interpret Nature. Knowledge consists in a perception of cause. To be able to refer one fact to another as its antecedent and that to another, is the first step in natural science, and indeed in any science. Nature has always presented herself to the mind as a mystery to be solved. Her ever-varying and beautiful phenomena are precisely of a sort to fascinate the senses and challenge the reason of men. She has thus offered herself to all races, but her petition to be known has been felt as an ardent appeal by only a few peoples of vigorous intellect and active imagination. Of this sort were the Aryan races, who have all manifested a keen interest in the great mystery which at once evokes their admiration and awakens their curiosity. The Aryans, under favorable conditions, have always been a people of the liveliest *sense-perception.* They have seen with keener appreciation the beautiful pictures of Nature, and heard with purer delight the rhythm of her melodies than have any other of the families of mankind.

Among these Aryan races—Indians, Persians, Medes, Italicans, Germans, Celts—the Greeks were preëminently the people of highest intellectual power and liveliest imagination. They were especially curious *to know*—eager to hear, to see, to understand. Their senses were susceptible of the most vivid impressions. Their interest in the great panorama of Nature was unflagging. Imagination and reason were ever on the alert to explain the shifting scenery of the visible world.

So the Greeks began to put into language, to describe, to interpret the phenomena of earth and sky and sea. Here at the outset they were opposed with a serious obstacle. Nature in some parts of the world, as in Egypt and Chaldæa, displays herself in a succession of orderly aspects. She varies but little. Day after day, through cloudless skies, the great sun travels the prescribed path to his western exit into darkness. Night after night the tremendous wheel of the silent universe is revolved in solemn grandeur overhead. There is little variation. Observation is stimulated by the regularity and steadiness of the phenomena, and the lines of causation from consequent to antecedent, unbroken by interferences or accident, are easily traced from step to step. But in Greece the exact opposite of all this is true. Here, if anywhere in the world, Nature knows no law. The coasts of Hellas are bounded by a line of indescribable irregularity. The sea gnaws at the shore, and the shore thrusts out to sea. The surface of the country is set at all slopes and angles. Hills rise from the valleys, and mountains overtop the hills. Forests, glens, grottoes, vistas, fountains, sequestered spots, thickets of tangled vines, rocky chasms with the murmur of waters in the bottom, patches of the bluest sky seen through gnarled branches of hoary oaks,—every aspect of smile or frown which Nature can well assume, is here the expression of her face. She is whimsical, capricious. A flash of warm sunshine transfigures the landscape, and then—

> Chill and murk is the n ighty blast
> Where Pindus' mountains rise,
> And angry skies are pouring fast
> The deluge of the skies.

In the midst of this almost infinite complexity the Greek mind stood confused. Nature here seemed without law. Her processes were everywhere broken and interrupted. The consequent was detached from the antecendent. The different parts of the natural world seemed to be under the dominion of individual forces. Unity was indiscoverable in the multiplex aspect of Nature. She seemed made up of antagonisms and conflicts. In her moods was the mingling of calm and storm, of light and darkness, of joy and sorrow. The interpretation of such a variable and capricious Fact as that with which the Greek found himself environed would of

necessity be broken into parts, confused in details, contradictory in statement.

What, then, more particularly were the facts and phenomena which the imagination and reason of the Greeks, and the ancestors of the Greeks, were called upon to explain? They were the visible phenomena of the external world. Here were, first of all, the three great facts of sky and earth and sea. Here, also, were the two principal orbs of heaven, the sun and the moon. Here, in the next place, and especially, were the attributes and effects of those bodies—light, heat, dawn, twilight, day as one fact and night as another. Here were clouds floating overhead. Here were fountains bubbling from the earth. Here were the unseen but powerful winds. Here were the waves of the deep sea—the murmur of their music, the roar of their wrath. Here was the hot lightning, flashing through the vapor-burdened air of summer, and the deep roll of the thunder, shaking both earth and heaven.

Of these things what explanation? The mind of primitive Arya stood before the problem. It began descriptively. *The first stage of mythology is simple description.* The phenomena of Nature and her simpler processes were merely described. They were described as they would be by a people of a vigorous sense-perception and lively imagination. But there was at the outset no impersonation—*no ascription of active causes to natural phenomena outside of themselves.* The facts and sequences of Nature were at the first merely expressed in such words as seemed to give the truest impression of the things described. That is to say, the primitive natural philosopher of the Aryan race spoke of Nature, described her as she appeared to his senses. He said: The sun rises. He rises from the sea. The light comes from the east. The light is from the sun. The dawn precedes the day. Darkness flees before the dawn. Darkness goes under the world when day comes. The sun dries up the dew. The clouds give rain. The clouds are the creatures of the air. The sky is over all. The sky is the highest thing. The sky thunders. The sky lightens. Fire is from the sun. Fire warms. Water quenches. The sea is troubled. Man is afraid. The powers are stronger than he. Underground is dark. Love is sweet. War crushes. All things go on and on.

Such was the natural language of man attempting to depict and explain the things which he saw. It was merely the rudiments of a natural philosophy, which in a literary and enlightened age would erelong have become *Science;* but, being in a pre-literary and unenlightened age, it became *Mythology.* It only remains, then, to explain the process by which the rudiments of the primitive natural philosophy of the Aryan races were mythologized—converted into myths. The explanation of this process is to be sought and found, whole and perfect, in the history and mutations of human speech. It is to the Science of Language that we must look for the interpretation of the metamorphosis of the primitive philosophy of nature into myths.

It must be understood that the original Aryan tribes of Bactria broke up and rolled away in migratory bands in several directions. The tribes filled India, the Great Plateau of Iran, the shores of Asia Minor, the islands and mainland of Greece, Italy, Germany, Scandinavia, the whole of Europe. These peoples had an original language, which was spoken before the tribal separation. *It was during the migration and settlement of these nations in distant parts that Nature became an object of study and description.* But, while this process was going on, while the Indians were becoming Indians and the Greeks Greeks, the languages of the nations about to be were undergoing rapid processes of growth and decay: growth—for the new objects which constantly appeared before a migratory and developing people, especially if those people were possessed of lively sensibilities, would constantly demand new names and new descriptions; decay—for the transfer of place and scene and sentiment would with equal certainty remand large numbers of words and phrases, descriptive of things no longer seen and heard, to the ever-increasing list of obsolete and obsolescent fragments which time and change were daily tossing into the waste-basket of human speech.

Now, it is this waste-basket of human speech that contains the mythology of the ancients. The words, phrases, and scraps of description which were cast therein were, when so dropped among the *débris*, merely unfigurative expressions for the things previously seen and heard. But it must be borne in mind that in a pre-literary age this mass of waste fragments of dying speech would for a long time be carried along with the migrating, and even by the settled, tribes, and that obsolete and obsolescent words and phrases would continue to be heard on the tongues of people who, having no lexicon in which the original meanings of such words and phrases were crystallized, would use them in *a new sense* unknown to their fathers. It thus came to pass that the alphabet and rudimentary lessons of the primitive natural philosophy, being couched in an obsolescent phraseology, were gradually transformed into myths. The old word which had been merely a name or descriptive epithet became, when its meaning was lost and when that meaning was expressed by a new word coined in the fertile brain of invention, *the name of a person rather than the name of a thing.* And this is the sum and substance of the mythologizing process by which the merely descriptive phrases of early science were transformed under a natural law of linguistic change into a new sense descriptive of imaginary Causes and Personal Agencies apart from the facts to be interpreted. It is thus that the Science of Language, not by theory and speculation, but by the actual demonstration of truth, has revealed the true origin and nature of the myths of antiquity. It only remains to elucidate the subject with a few examples and illustrations caught almost at random from the language of mythology.

The word *zeus* meant originally the *blue sky.* It had no other signification. This meaning was not known to the Greeks themselves. The true sense of the word has been discovered only in recent times, by an examination of the cognate Sanskrit in which *dyaus pitar* (=*zeus pater* in Greek) means simply father of the *sky*, the *dyaus* being the word for sky. Neither Socrates nor Plato ever dreamed of such a fact in their language. To them the word Zeus had issued from the prehistoric shadows as the name of the supreme god of their race—nothing more, nothing less. But it is now clearly seen that sometime during the Hellenic migration the word *zeus* became mythologized—lost its old scientific meaning of *sky*, passed through the stage of *sky-god*, and then, since the sky is the highest thing, became the name of the Father of gods and men, the supreme deity of the race. This simple method of illustration can be carried forward with entire satisfaction through the whole list of the gods and goddesses of Greece, the fictions thus unraveled being of the highest beauty in the light of the new interpretation.

Thus, for instance, dew in the original Aryan speech was called *procris.* One of the names of the sun was *cephalus.* The child at early morning, beholding the dew-drops on the grass, might well wonder and grieve to see them disappear in the sunlight. The parent would explain that *cephalus* had taken *procris* away—had killed her with kisses. So the phrase would arise that *cephalus loved procris and devoured her.* It is at first a poem in primary science. But so soon as the original meanings of *cephalus* and *procris* have been supplanted by other words and the original words have become obsolescent, then the myth-making imagination, retaining the old phrase-poem, preserves it in the legend that the god Cephalus, loving the maiden Procris, devoured her with kisses. In the same way Phœbus, the sun, pursues Daphne, the dawn, and gives her no rest from his fierce passion; but she returns in the twilight of evening to watch with faithful tenderness beside the couch of her dying lord. The myth of Cronos devouring his offspring means no more—whatever it may have meant to the Greek—than that time eats up the days and years as soon as they are born. It is all a mutation of speech, beginning with an attempt to explain in plain language the phenomena of Nature, and ending by the giving to obsolete words of a new sense significant of a Cause rather than descriptive of a Fact. It was thus that the wonderful, the beautiful fabric of Grecian mythology was built up un-

consciously out of an attempt of the primitive Hellenes to formulate a system of natural philosophy, and out of the transformation of that system by the mythologizing processes of human speech.

After the myth of Heracles, there is a gradual descent in the system of the Greeks to the plane of human possibility. Thus, though PERSEUS is still the son of Zeus, he begins to appear as one of the mortals. He was brought up by King Polydectes, by whom he was sent to fetch the head of the gorgon Medusa. To save himself from being converted into stone on beholding the monster, Perseus employed the device of a mirror, and thus succeeded in cutting off Medusa's head. Finding Polydectes to have been treacherous, he converted him and his household into stone by displaying the head of the dead gorgon. After this, being unwilling to return to Argos, of which he is the reputed founder, Perseus exchanged governments with King Megapenthes, and received for his kingdom Tiryns, in return for his own city of Argos.

Of like character is the tradition of THESEUS, the legendary hero of Attica. His parents were mortals, his father being Ægeus, king of Athens, and his mother the daughter of Pittheus, king of Trœzena. His royal parentage was concealed from him until his maturity, when he returned to Athens and was about to be destroyed by Medea. He afterwards engaged in a series of adventures, or labors, like those of Heracles, undertaken for the good of his countrymen. He even devoted himself to death by a self-offering to the Minotaur of Crete, but Ariadne, daughter of King Minos, furnished him a sword and a ball of thread, by means of which he traced the labyrinth and slew the Minotaur in his den. On his return to his own country with Ariadne he forgot to hoist the white sail, which was to be the signal of his victory, and King Ægeus, believing his son destroyed, threw himself into the sea. Theseus thus became king of Attica. He afterwards subdued the Amazons, went on the Argonautic expedition, and fought against the Centaurs, those fabulous horse-man monsters that inhabited the plains of Thessaly.

Similar, also, is the legend of ŒDIPUS, the great hero of Thebes. On account of a warning from the Delphic oracle he was exposed at birth by his father, Laios, but was rescued and taken to Corinth, where he was adopted as the son of Polybus and Merope. Journeying towards Thebes, he met an old man in a chariot, who ordered him out of the way and struck him. Œdipus was enraged and slew him, and the dead man afterwards proved to be his father, Laios. Not knowing what he had done, Œdipus went on to Thebes. There the merciless Sphinx had brought drought and distress upon the city; for none could answer the riddles which the monster, sitting on the brow of the hill above the city, propounded to the people. But Œdipus solved the dark sayings of the Sphinx, and she threw herself down from the height and perished. The deliverer was rewarded by the gift of Iocaste, the queen, who was bestowed on him in marriage. Now, Iocaste was his mother! So the oracle was fulfilled. A plague came on the city. Œdipus tore out his eyes, and Iocaste died of despair.

Nor should the legend be omitted of CADMUS and EUROPA. They were the children of Agenor and Telephassa. In childhood, Europa was carried away by Zeus, who appeared in the form of a white bull. Then the mother and brothers went to search for her who was abducted. In Thessaly, Telephassa died, but Cadmus, under direction of Phœbus Apollo, went on to Delphi and found his sister. After the discovery, he was directed by the god to follow a cow that should appear before him, and where she should lie down there he should found a city. He did so, and thus laid the foundation of Thebes.

The founding of Athens by CECROPS introduces another interesting legend. According to one myth this great hero was of Pelasgic origin, but the commonly received tradition made him an Egyptian from Saïs. He is said to have brought a colony into Attica and to have founded the Acropolis. In the temple of Artemis a statue was placed to his honor; for in a dispute between that goddess and Poseidon he had decided for her, and the olive-tree. instead of the trident, was

taken as the symbol of Athens. After the foundations of the city were laid, Cecrops divided Attica into twelve communities. He gave good laws, established marriage, abolished bloody sacrifices, encouraged agriculture and the building of ships, brought in the dawn of civilization.

Many other legends of like sort might be recited from the treasure-house of Grecian story. One of peculiar interest is that of ASCLEPIOS.[1] He was the reputed son of Apollo and the nymph Coronis. At his birth Phœbus left the mother and went his ways. Then came Ischys from Arcadia and won her love. For this disloyalty Artemis slew Coronis, but Asclepios was saved alive. He was reared by the centaur Cheiron, who taught him the mysteries of the healing art, by which the pupil gained a world-wide fame. He even raised the dead; but by doing so he provoked the wrath of Hades, who complained to Zeus that his kingdom would be unpeopled. Zeus thereupon smote Asclepios with a thunderbolt. For this, Apollo, being enraged, slew the CYCLOPES, servants of Zeus; but the latter squared the account by condemning Apollo to serve for a year in the house of Admetus, king of Pheræ.

DEUCALION was the son of Prometheus and Clymene. In him is preserved the tradition of the Grecian flood. In the time of King Lycaon and his sons the wickedness of the world became intolerable. Zeus resolved to destroy mankind with a deluge of water. So he sent a flood. As the waters rose Deucalion entered the ark which he had prepared in accordance with the warning of his father, Prometheus, and for eight days was borne on the breast of the waters. Then the ark rested on Parnassus. Deucalion came out with his wife Pyrrha, and prayed for the restoration of mankind. Hermes, in answer, told him that he and Pyrrha, in descending the mountain, should cover their faces with mantles and cast behind them the bones of their mother. Deucalion was a rationalist. By "mother" he understood the earth, and by "bones" he understood stones; for the stones are the bones of the earth. So he and Pyrrha did as Hermes had bidden; the stones which they flung behind them became human beings, and the world was repeopled.

Another interesting legend is that of PROMETHEUS and EPIMETHEUS, the Forethought and Afterthought of the Grecian myth. The story of Prometheus has already been given. On one occasion he slew an ox in sacrifice, and, placing the flesh and entrails under the skin in one place and the bones under the fat in another, told Zeus to take his choice. The ruler of gods and men chose the fat and got the bones. Finding himself outwitted, and Prometheus being gone, Zeus proceeded to punish Afterthought in his stead. He ordered Hephæstus to make a clay-woman. He commanded Athene to clothe her in beautiful robes, and Hermes to give her the power of speech to deceive and betray mankind. So PANDORA was made and given to Epimetheus for a wife! When she was received into his house she there opened a great cask, out of which flew all the plagues of the world. Every thing escaped except Hope, and she was left imprisoned!

RUINS OF TROAS.

In the domain of exploits the two most famous preserved in the legendary lore of the Greeks were the ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION and the TROJAN WAR. The first of these was

[1] Usually known by his Latin name of Æsculapius.

undertaken by the Grecian chiefs for the recovery of the Golden Fleece. This fleece belonged to the ram of Phrixus. He was the son of Athamas and Nephele. When Nephele died Athamas married Ino. Phrixus and Helle, his sister, were very unhappy until the ram with the golden fleece came and carried them away. While he bore them aloft Helle fell off and was drowned in the narrow strait thenceforth called the *Hellespont*. Phrixus rode onward to the palace of Æetes, king of Colchis. By him was the ram sacrificed to Zeus and the fleece hung up in the palace until

Menelaus. Paris. Diomedes. Odisseus. Nestor. Achilles. Agamemnon.

HEROES OF THE TROJAN WAR.

what time the chiefs of the Greeks should come and recover it.

The Greek leaders were gathered for this mission by JASON. They sailed away in the good ship Argo—Heracles, Meleagros, Amphiaraos, Admetus, and many others. They passed the rocks called the Symplegades, that opened and closed so quickly that scarcely might a bird dart through with safety. They traversed the land of the Amazons, and came to Colchis. Æetes refused to surrender the fleece until Jason should plow the land with the fire-breathing bulls and sow it with the teeth of the dragon, who guarded the fleece. Medea aided him. She anointed his body so that the breath of the bulls should not destroy him, and instructed him to throw a stone among the armed men that sprang up from the teeth of the dragon. On doing this, the armed men fell to slaying each other. Then Medea lulled the dragon to sleep. Jason quickly slew him and bore away the Golden Fleece in triumph.

The story of the Trojan War is perhaps the most famous tradition of antiquity. In the poems of Homer it has acquired an immortality of fame. The circumstances leading to the war have already been referred to in the myth of Venus, to whom, by the judgment of Paris, was awarded the golden apple thrown by Strife among the deities at their banquet. When it was known that Helen was abducted from the house of her lord, Menelaüs, king of Sparta, there was a general uprising among the princes of Greece for her recovery. A great expedition was undertaken by water against Troy, the city of Priam, on the upper coast of Asia Minor. The gods and goddesses were nearly all involved in the conflict. Hera and Athene were for the Greeks; Aphrodite for the Trojans. The city was besieged for ten years, and was finally, when naked valor had failed, taken by the device of the Wooden Horse. Famous in all the world is the story of the stratagem. The Greeks made of sawn fir a huge effigy of a horse, and filled the cavernous body

with a company of soldiers. This monstrous enigma they left standing on the sand, and then sailed away as if they were giving up the siege. They took care, however, to convey to the Trojans a lie so carefully contrived as to induce them to cut their walls and draw in the dangerous horse. At night the pent-up soldiers came forth; the Greeks sailed back from Tenedos, and Troy was taken. Priam's palace was sacked and burnt, its treasures carried off, Helen herself recovered and borne back to her Spartan home. The condition of Greece in the time of the return of the expedition—the social life, manners, and institutions of the race—are depicted with great beauty in the imperishable pages of the *Odyssey*. – Such, then, are the mythological and legendary antecedents of that brilliant people whose career in peace and war is now to be narrated.

THE WOODEN HORSE.

CHAPTER XLII.—THE HELLENIC DAWN.

AT what time and in what manner the states of Hellas were first colonized can not now—perhaps never will — be known. History opens upon the scene with settled tribes, walled cities, and petty kings already established in the country. Still, at the very dawn of Greek history, we are met with a commotion among the tribes, a general jostling of one race by another to the extent of undoing a previous condition and the establishment of a new in its stead. One of the earliest of these movements is that of the Bœotians from Thessaly into their own country, known as the BŒOTIAN MIGRATION. Their original seat was in the district of Æolis in Central Thessaly, from which position they were driven by the incoming of rude tribes from Epirus. Being thus dispossessed, the Bœotians moved to the south and obtained a footing in the country afterwards called Bœotia. There was thus begun from the north a movement which jostled tribe after tribe of the primitive Hellenes from their seats until nearly all the states had felt the influence of the agitation. The date of this migration is uncertain. Presumably, the event was subsequent to the Trojan War; for neither this migration of the Bœotians, nor the later one of the Dorians, is mentioned in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

It is not improbable that the removal of the Bœotians into Central Greece gave the initial impulse in the larger and more important movement of the Dorians, known as the Dorian Migration or the RETURN OF THE HERACLIDÆ. Here there is a mingling of history and fable. It is easy to see how the people, displaced by the Bœotians from their little state of Doris in Central Greece, would in turn fall upon some of the tribes further south, and that thus the wave of agitation would roll on into Peloponnesus. But tradition has taken up the lay and gives a more elaborate account of the movement.

The Dorians, according to their belief, had original claims in Peloponnesus. These claims were based upon the relations of this people with the descendants of Heracles. To him belonged the rightful sovereignty of Southern Greece; but of this he was deprived by the wiles of Hera, who contrived to have Eurystheus preferred for the kingdom of Argos. Heracles was condemned to service, and his descendants to exile. Under the lead of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, they had attempted to regain their lost patrimony; but Hyllus was slain by Echemus of Tegea, and they themselves were bound to renounce all efforts at recovery for the space of a hundred years. Finally, however, the century elapsed, and the grandsons of Hyllus—Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus—determined to recover their birthright. In this effort they were joined by the Dorians, who retained a grateful recollection of how Heracles, in former times, had aided their king Ægimius in a war with the Lapithæ. So the Heraclidæ and the Dorians made common cause in the attempt to gain possession of Peloponnesus.

Meanwhile, the sons of Heracles were warned by an oracle not to attempt to pass through the isthmus of Corinth, but to cross the gulf at its mouth. They were given free passes through Ætolia, the king himself acting as their guide. The Ozolian Locrians, also, lent their aid by giving them a harbor in which to construct the necessary ships, and this place was henceforth known as Naupactus or Shiptown. Aristodemus died here, but his two sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, and the remaining brothers led the people across the gulf into Achaia.

At this time the most powerful chief in Peloponnesus was Tisamenus, son of Arestes. Against him the Heraclidæ and the Dorians marched, and he was defeated in battle. Gathering his subjects together, however, he

retired into the northern districts of Southern Greece, then occupied by the Ionians. Them he expelled, and then took possession of their country. The victory of the Heraclidæ being complete, they proceeded to divide among themselves and the Dorians the conquered states of Peloponnesus. Oxylus, the Ætolian, received the kingdom of Elis. Temenus and Cresphontes and the two sons of Aristodemus then drew lots for the three states of Sparta, Argos, and Messenia. The first fell to the children of Aristodemus; Argos, to Temenus; and Messenia to Cresphontes. Nor was there serious opposition on the part of the people of the country. The Epeans, who were the primitive people of Elis, submitted after the death of their king. Bands of Ætolians were brought into the country from the north of the gulf, and from henceforth the new people were called Eleans. Temenus secured Argos without difficulty; and his sons soon enlarged the kingdom by conquering Trœzenia, Epidauria, Egina, and Sicyonia, thus extending the state of Argolis to the limits defined in a preceding chapter. The state of Sparta was secured to the sons of Aristodemus by the treachery of the Achæan Philonomus, who was rewarded with the sovereignty of Amyclæ. The towns of Sparta all submitted with the exception of Helos, whose people, the Helots, were for their obstinacy reduced to servitude. Of them much will hereafter be said as the servile class in Sparta. Melanthus, king of Messenia, gave up without a struggle, and withdrew with a large part of his subjects into Attica.

A short time subsequent to these events the state of Corinth was also taken by the Dorians. When the Heraclidæ were about to embark from Naupactus, on their mission of conquest, one of the leaders, named Hippotes, had killed a priest by the name of Carnus, and for this he was banished by the other sons of Heracles and forbidden to share with them in the division of Peloponnesus. For ten years he was an exile; but after his death his son, Aletes, revived his father's claims, marched into Corinth with a body of Dorians, overthrew the dynasty of the Sisyphids, and took the kingdom. The original Æolian inhabitants were banished from the country. Thus were the Heraclidæ established as the rulers of all Peloponnesus. But no date can yet be assigned for these half-legendary movements of the Hellenic tribes.

The previous political condition of the country thus overrun by the Dorians may be briefly noticed. Peloponnesus was, during the Heroic Age, the seat of those kingdoms from which the most of the Greek chiefs were gathered for the conquest of Troy. That most ancient city Mycenæ, in Argolis, was the capital of Agamemnon, known as the "king of men." His brother Menelaüs was, at the same time, king of Sparta, and from him was his wife Helen, the beautiful cause of the woes of the Greeks, taken away by the contrivance of Aphrodite and the willingness of Paris. At the same time Argos was ruled by Diomedes, who bore so heroic a part in the siege of Troy. Other princes held sway in different portions of the country. The central mountainous region was inhabited—as it continued to be after the Dorian conquest—by the Arcadians, a primitive race thought to have been the descendants of the Pelasgians. The two principal towns of this region were Tegea and Mantinea. The rest of the country was occupied with villages and rustic settlements, which, from their seclusion, bore no active part in the history of Greece. Such was that condition of affairs which was superseded by the establishment of the kingdoms of the Heraclidæ in Southern Hellas.

Meanwhile, other tribal movements had been precipitated by the invasion of the Dorians. Many of the original inhabitants of Peloponnesus, driven from their homes by the Heraclidæ, sought refuge in foreign lands. The coasts of Asia Minor became the principal resort of these fugitives and exiles. The first band was made of those Achæans of Peloponnesus, who, jostled from their native haunts on the Corinthian gulf, went first into Bœotia. Then they were joined by others, principally of the Æolian race, and soon departed for new homes on the other side of the Ægean. They settled along the northern coast of Asia Minor, taking possession of the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos; and here they

laid the foundations of those cities which were afterwards joined in the ÆOLIAN CONFEDERATION.

More important by far was the migration of the Ionians. These people had been expelled by the Achæans from their native seats on the Corinthian Gulf, and had sought refuge in Attica. Here they were joined by others of the same race, just as the Æolians had gathered head in Bœotia. Many strangers, exiles, and refugees also assembled with the emigrants who departing from Attica were led by the family of Codrus, the last king of Athens, to their chosen homes among the Cyclades and on the coast of Asia Minor. Here was founded the IONIAN CONFEDERATION. The country in which the cities of this league were located lay along the shore from the river Hermus to the Meander, and has already been described in the Book on the History of Persia. The two principal islands belonging to Ionia were Chios and Samos, with which were included many others of smaller importance. Twelve cities in this part of Asiatic Greece belonged to the confederation, many of them of great importance both commercially and politically.

In the partition of Peloponnesus it happened that some of the Dorian chiefs could not be provided with a "kingdom" on the main-land of Greece. For this reason, they with their followers and many of the native Achæans, also left the country and established themselves in Asia Minor. The part of the coast selected lay to the south of Ionia, and included the two important islands of Rhodes and Cos. In the former three of the six cities belonging to the colonies known as the DORIC HEXAPOLIS were founded—Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus. On the main-land were situated the two important towns of Halicarnassus and Cnidus.

So runs the tradition of the various migrations—Dorian, Ionian, Æolian—which occurred at the close of the Heroic Age of Greece. These narratives can not be accepted without many grains of allowance. It is now well known that Ionia was the oldest civilized state of the Greeks, and that enlightenment spread westward from the shores of Asia Minor, until, diffused among the Cyclades, it finally flashed its radiance into Hellas Proper. From this it will be seen that the only rational view to be taken of the alleged migrations from the West is that which represents the Ionians of the main-land, disturbed by the movement of the Dorians from the North, as *going back* and settling among their own countrymen, already for a long time the dominant people on the coast of Asia Minor. Nor is there any thing incongruous in this view of the case; for people, when driven by invasion from their homes, are just as likely to return to their kinsmen as to strike out into unoccupied regions. Criticism, therefore, simply demands that the migration of the Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians shall be read the *return* of the Æolians, etc., which is, indeed, the very language given by tradition to the movement of the Heraclidæ from the North into Peloponnesus.

The colonies sent out by the Greeks in these early times were not all directed to the Cyclades and Asia Minor. Tradition also describes a migration of Dorians into Crete. This island had been the scene of many prehistoric wonders. Here MINOS, the great lawgiver and hero, had established his institutions in the old mythological dawn, when Zeus's love for Europa gave a benefactor to men before the days of Deucalion. For that fabulous navigator was the son of Minos. He, having from his father a pledge that all of his prayers should be granted, and aspiring to be king of Crete, prayed that a bull might come from the sea as a sacrifice for Poseidon. But when the animal appeared he was so beautiful that another was led to the altar instead of that sent. Poseidon was offended, and as a punishment afflicted the wife of Minos by inspiring her with an insane passion for the bull. So was born the monster Minotaur, whom Minos shut up in the Cnossian Labyrinth. He then obtained the throne of Crete and became famed as a law-giver. From him Lycurgus was said to have obtained the models of those institutions which he gave the Spartans. So into Crete, at the close of the Heroic Age, a band of Dorians, driven by Sparta from the town of Amyclæ, was led

and colonized. There they founded the two cities of Gortyna and Lyttus. The newcomers represented themselves as being of the same race with the primitive Cretans, and claimed the glories of Minos as their own. There was thus effected a solidarity of Dorian interests, not only in Southern Peloponnesus, but also in the islands of Crete, Melos, and Thera. In the political struggles of after-times, the Spartans could always depend upon these island populations for sympathy and aid.

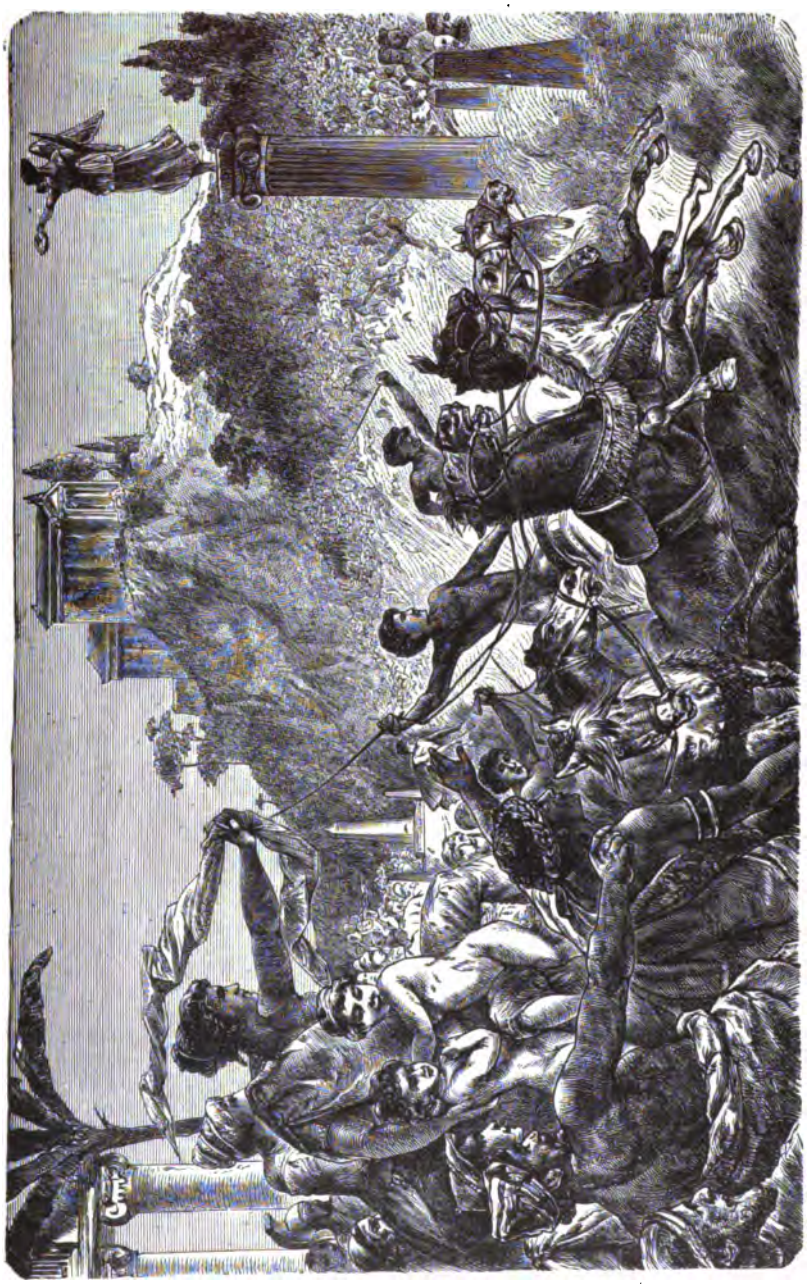
These migratory movements of the Hellenic tribes, in the shadowy era just subsequent to the Heroic Age, are the events in which the myths and traditions of the preceding times gradually melt away, and the daydawn of actual history is ushered in. From this time forth dates may be fixed with approximate certainty; yet actual certainty is not attained until the establishment of the Olympic games; and since this event is the Year One of Grecian chronology, it will be proper here to recount the circumstances of the establishment of the Olympiad, and of the other great periodic gatherings of the Greeks.

After their belief in a common descent and the possession of a common language, the facts which most closely allied the Hellenes were their great periodic games and festivals. To participate in these was to be Greek; not to participate was to be barbarian. A spirit of union was engendered among all the states, which, though not always triumphant over jealousy and faction, was nevertheless of incalculable advantage in promoting the common interests of the race in its competitions and struggles with the outside world. Of these national festivals, in which the predominating feature was the game or contest, there were four in number: the Olympic, the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean. They were open to all persons of the Hellenic race, and were attended by enormous throngs gathered from all parts of the Grecian world and from kingdoms beyond the seas. At what time they were instituted is not known; for they came, like most of the other institutions of Greece, out of the shadows of the mythical ages.

The OLYMPIAN GAMES, the most famous and popular of all, took their name from the town of Olympia, on the banks of the river Alpheus, in Elis. Here stood an ancient temple of the Olympian Zeus; and here, at some time in the prehistoric period, the games began to be celebrated. As yet they were only a local institution, and continued such until they were revived and amplified by Iphitus, king of the Eleans, and Lycurgus, the law-giver of Sparta. This important event took place in the year B. C. 776. So great was the celebrity which the games under the new patronage at once achieved, that henceforth their mythical history was neglected and the celebration above referred to was numbered as THE FIRST OLYMPIAD; and from that were dated all the subsequent events of Grecian history. So strong a hold did this Era obtain in public usage throughout all Greece and the civilized world, that the method of dating by Olympiads was not abandoned until the close of the fourth century, and then only by an edict of the Roman Emperor Theodosius.

The Olympian games were celebrated every fourth year. In the first stages of their development they embraced merely a contest for the palm in foot-racing, the celebration lasting for but a single day. In a short time, however, the competition was extended to other sports. Trials of strength, as well as of fleetness, were introduced. Then came the competition of skill. Wrestling, boxing, jumping, throwing the quoit, hurling the javelin, were the more common of the sports. Afterwards, the exciting horse-race and the chariot-race were added. The driver entered the course with four fiery steeds, harnessed abreast to the car in which himself was mounted, and went whirling away like mad to gain a place in advance of his competitors. At the same time that the scope of the contest was enlarged, the period was extended from one day to five. During the festival almost every hour witnessed a renewal of the sport. The competition, though of the keenest edge, was always friendly, and during the whole time of the prevalence of the institution fighting with weapons was forbidden.

The only prize with which a victor in the Olympian games was rewarded was a wreath of wild olive; but this was considered the greatest honor which a Greek could achieve.



THE OLYMPIAN GAMES.

No other distinction conferred in peace or war was reckoned of equal honor. The winner was gratified with every mark of appreciative regard which it was possible for an enthusiastic people to bestow. His name was proclaimed before all Greece, and applauded by all his countrymen. His family was ennobled by his victory. His statue was set up in the sacred grove of the Olympian Zeus. On his return to his own city he was received without the walls by a procession, and was escorted to his home with shouting and the music of flutes. The rhapsodists recited his praises. Rewards were voted to him by the citizens. His taxes were remitted, and he was given a distinguished seat in all public assemblies. If a Spartan, he might henceforth in battle fight next to the person of the king. His victor's wreath was hung up as a precious legacy to his children's children, who were thereby to be reminded of a glorious ancestry.

The attendance at the Olympic festival was enormously large, and embraced the best people of all Greece. The general management was intrusted to a committee of Eleans, who appointed a court of judges, called the *Hellanodicæ*. These decided all the contests and made the awards to the victors. During the continuance of the festival all violence

ceased. No act of hostility was permitted in all Greece. The territory of Elis became sacred, and the marching of any armed force upon it was an act of sacrilege. Every thing that could add to the interest of the great celebration was carefully attended to. With the progress of the contests the enthusiasm of the throng rose to the highest pitch, and a feeling of unity and goodfellowship, most essential to the welfare of the Hellenic states, was generously cultivated. Especially was this true after artistic, musical, and poetical contests were added to those of mere bodily skill and endurance. The humanizing tendency of the festival was felt as a creative force in all the highest branches of human achievement, and not a few of the great works of the Greek mind might without sophistry be traced to the influence of the national games.

After the Cirrhæan war, in B. C. 585, a new festival called the PYTHIAN was instituted by the Amphictyonic Council. It was celebrated once in three years in the Cirrhæan plain, and was on the same general plan as the Olympic games. The Amphictyons presided, and, since the festival was in honor of Apollo, music and poetry, as well as bodily contests, were from the first a part of the exercises. So great was the success of the institution thus established that the Pythian games became second only to those at Olympia.

The NEMEAN festival was, as indicated by its name, celebrated in the valley of Nemea, in Argolis. It was instituted in the fifty-second Olympiad, B. C. 572, and was held in each alternate year. Before this time there had been local games at Nemea, running back in their origin to the mythical ages. The celebration was in honor of the Nemean Zeus, and was at the first open only to warriors; but afterwards this restriction was removed, and all Greeks might participate. In the contests, however, some military features were preserved, such as that between foot-racers clad in armor. But in general the competition was like that in the Olympic and Pythian games. At the beginning, the victor in a Nemean contest was crowned with a chaplet of wild olive, but afterwards the olive was replaced with parsley.

The ISTHMIAN games were celebrated on the Isthmus of Corinth, in the month of April, on each second and fourth year of the Olympiad. They are said to have been first instituted by Athamas, king of Orchomenus. Afterwards they were revived by Theseus in honor of Poseidon, and finally, in the sixth century before our era, were made a national festival for all Greeks. The celebration was conducted under the auspices of the Corinthians and the Athenians, but at a later period the Sicyonians held the exclusive right of presiding and deciding the contests. After Greece had fallen under the dominion of the Romans, gladiatorial shows were introduced, as were also contests of wild beasts—a kind of sport always repulsive to the refined tastes of the Hellenes. The prize offered for victory in an Isthmian contest was a garland of pine leaves, and to this a law of Solon added a reward of a hundred drachmæ.

In connection with these great games, considered as institutions calculated to create and foster a pan-Hellenic spirit, mention should also be made of the AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL. Its general character was that of a kind of sacred congress. It had a mythical and religious origin. AMPHICTYON, the reputed founder, was one of the heroes. The association was in the first place a religious body, which met at stated intervals to perform sacrifices and supervise the rites of the country. Having their head-quarters in the great temple at Delphi, to which all Greece was wont to look for the omens of prophecy, the Amphictyons gradually acquired an ascendency over other associations of like sort in different parts of the country. Influence grew into authority, and the Council came to be recognized as a determining influence in the weightiest affairs of the Greeks. It was the great court of appeal to which inter-state disputes were referred for settlement; but its power to regulate and determine questions of national importance never rose to true congressional proportions, else the destiny of the Hellenic communities, resolved into a Union, might have withstood both Philip and the Romans.

The Council held two sessions annually, the first in the spring at the shrine of Apollo,

in Delphi, and the other in the autumn, in the temple of Demeter, at Thermopylæ. Its members were called AMPHICTYONS, and were chosen as deputies by the twelve states represented in the court. The delegates from each state consisted of a *Hieromnemon*, or chief, and several subordinates called *Pylagoræ;* but each delegation acted as a unit in the Council, and cast two votes in the name of the state represented. The different tribes who, by the appointment of deputies, recognized the authority of the Amphictyons were the Thessalians, the Bœotians, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perrhæbians, the Magnetes, the Locrians, the Œtæans, the Achæans, the Phocians, the Dolopians, and the Malians. From the names of these constituent peoples it will readily be seen how ancient was the Amphictyonic institution; for several of these tribes had virtually disappeared before the classical age of Greece.

Among the first duties of the great Council was to uphold the influence of the oracle and temple of Delphi. The interests of the states represented were carefully, though not always efficiently, guarded. On the assumption of their duties the deputies were required to take the following oath: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, or cut it off from running water in war or peace. If any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice, and by every means in our power."

It is clear from the tenor of this obligation that the primary objects of the Council were religious rather than secular. It was only in later developments that the Amphictyons became an important power in the political affairs of Greece; nor did their influence ever become so great as to entitle them to be considered a congress, in the modern sense of that word. Perhaps the most important general result of the organization was that it *tended* to the nationality of Greece. The line was thus drawn more distinctly than ever between Greek and Barbarian. The Amphictyons were themselves united in one body, and the unity of the twelve states represented was thereby symbolized and stimulated. The name of Hellenes, applied to the whole Greek people, acquired a new significance because of this federal title adopted by the Council.

A second result of scarcely less importance was that of a fixity of territorial limits for the several Greek states. This was one of the matters of which the Amphictyony took special cognizance. The determination of borders which might not be disputed was a matter of great moment in the maintenance of peace and the promotion of civilization.

The early character of the Council may be inferred from its relation to the First Sacred War, which occurred between the years B. C. 595 and 585. The Phocian town of Crissa was situated on the heights of Parnassus, near the oracle of Apollo. Its territory extended from the mountains to the gulf of Corinth. Its seaport was the little town of Cirrha. Having commercial advantages it grew to importance. The visitors who came from all parts of the Grecian world to consult the oracle landed and embarked at Cirrha. With the increase of population the place became ambitious. Crissa, not without cause, grew jealous; and, when the Cirrhæans proceeded to enrich themselves by levying exorbitant contributions upon the pilgrims going to and from the shrine of Apollo, took cognizance of the matter and declared war. The Thessalians and Athenians were summoned to the aid of Crissa, and for ten years Cirrha was invested by the forces of the Council. At last the town was taken by a stratagem not very honorable in so sacred a cause. It is said that, at the suggestion of Solon, the lawgiver of Athens, the waters of the river Plistus, which flowed through the besieged city, were poisoned, and the Cirrhæans were thus driven to surrender. The town was leveled to the ground. The rich plain in which it stood, extending northward towards Delphi, was consecrated to Apollo, and curses were pronounced upon him who henceforth should ever attempt its cultivation.[1] Thus, by the

[1] It was in this plain that the Pythian games were celebrated. See p. 517.

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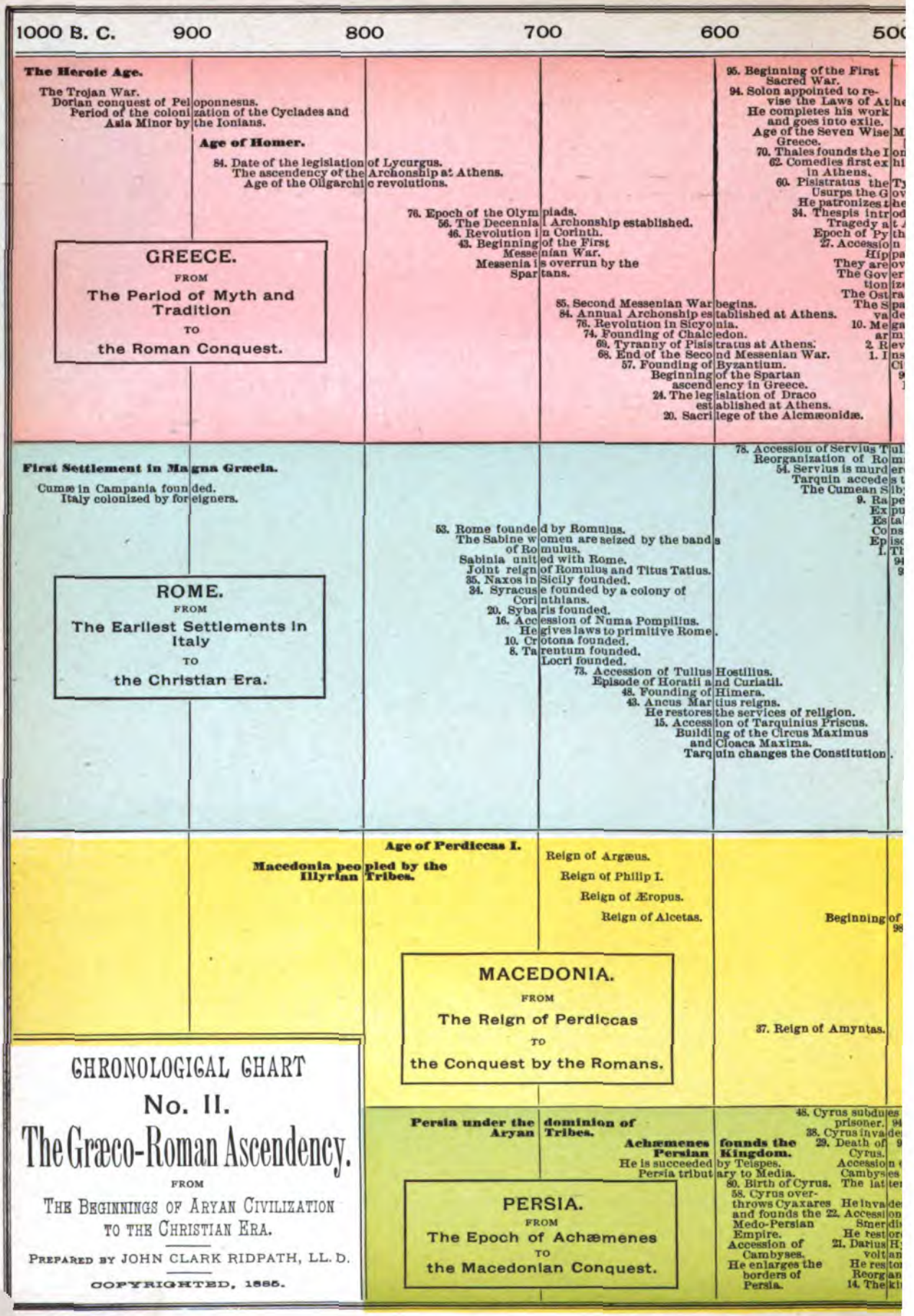
1000 B. C.
900
800
700
600
500
The Heroic Age.
The Trojan War.
Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.
Period of the colonization of the Cyclades and Asia Minor by the Ionians.
Age of Homer.
84. Date of the legislation of Lycurgus.
The ascendency of the Archonship at Athens.
Age of the Oligarchic revolutions.
776. Epoch of the Olympiads.
756. The Decennial Archonship established.
746. Revolution in Corinth.
743. Beginning of the First Messenian War.
Messenia is overrun by the Spartans.
685. Second Messenian War begins.
684. Annual Archonship established at Athens.
676. Revolution in Sicyonia.
674. Founding of Chalcedon.
669. Tyranny of Pisistratus at Athens.
668. End of the Second Messenian War.
657. Founding of Byzantium.
Beginning of the Spartan ascendency in Greece.
624. The legislation of Draco established at Athens.
620. Sacrilege of the Alcmæonidæ.
595. Beginning of the First Sacred War.
594. Solon appointed to revise the Laws of Athens. He completes his work and goes into exile.
Age of the Seven Wise Men of Greece.
570. Thales founds the Ionic school.
562. Comedies first exhibited in Athens.
560. Pisistratus the Tyrant Usurps the Government. He patronizes the Drama.
534. Thespis introduces Tragedy at Athens.
Epoch of Pythiads.
527. Accession of Hippias.
They are overthrown.
The Government of Athens modified.
The Ostracism.
The Spartan invasion of Attica.
510. Megacles archon.
2. Revolution.
1. Institution of the Comitia Centuriata.
GREECE.
FROM
The Period of Myth and Tradition
TO
the Roman Conquest.
First Settlement in Magna Græcia.
Cumæ in Campania founded.
Italy colonized by foreigners.
753. Rome founded by Romulus.
The Sabine women are seized by the band of Romulus.
Sabinia united with Rome.
Joint reign of Romulus and Titus Tatius.
735. Naxos in Sicily founded.
734. Syracuse founded by a colony of Corinthians.
720. Sybaris founded.
716. Accession of Numa Pompilius.
He gives laws to primitive Rome.
710. Crotona founded.
708. Tarentum founded.
Locri founded.
673. Accession of Tullus Hostilius.
Episode of Horatii and Curiatii.
648. Founding of Himera.
643. Ancus Martius reigns.
He restores the services of religion.
615. Accession of Tarquinius Priscus.
Building of the Circus Maximus and Cloaca Maxima.
Tarquin changes the Constitution.
578. Accession of Servius Tullius.
Reorganization of Rome.
554. Servius is murdered.
Tarquin accedes to the throne.
The Cumean Sibyl.
509. Rape of Lucretia.
Expulsion of the Tarquins.
Establishment of the Consulate.
Epoch of the Republic.
I. The Tribunate.
ROME.
FROM
The Earliest Settlements in Italy
TO
the Christian Era.
Macedonia peopled by the Illyrian Tribes.
Age of Perdiccas I.
Reign of Argæus.
Reign of Philip I.
Reign of Æropus.
Reign of Alcetas.
Beginning of
37. Reign of Amyntas.
MACEDONIA.
FROM
The Reign of Perdiccas
TO
the Conquest by the Romans.
Persia under the Aryan dominion of Tribes.
Achæmenes founds the Persian Kingdom.
He is succeeded by Teispes.
Persia tributary to Media.
680. Birth of Cyrus.
658. Cyrus overthrows Cyaxares and founds the Medo-Persian Empire.
Accession of Cambyses.
He enlarges the borders of Persia.
548. Cyrus subdues
prisoner.
538. Cyrus invade
529. Death of Cyrus.
Accession
Cambyses
The latter
522. Accession
Smerdis
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PERSIA.
FROM
The Epoch of Achæmenes
TO
the Macedonian Conquest.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART
No. II.
The Græco-Roman Ascendency.

FROM

THE BEGINNINGS OF ARYAN CIVILIZATION TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

PREPARED BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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500 | 400 | 300 | 200 | 100 | A. D.

78. The Persian Army d
Formation of the Co
Beginning of the At
Banishment of Th
66. Cimon suppres
64. Beginning of t
60. The Athenian
47. Revolt of Bœ
45. Herodotus fl
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40. Reducti
32. Declar
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30. Athens
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21. Peac
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7. R
5. Battle of Ægospotami. 4. Lysander takes Athens.
90. Darius invades Greece.
Battle of Marathon.
Ascendency of Themistocles and Aristides.
Xerxes prepares to overw
81. The Persian army adv
80. Battles of Thermopylæ, Salamis, Plateæ, and Myc

driven out of Greece.
Confederation of Delos.
henian Ascendency.
emistocles.
ses the Naxian Revolt.
the Third Messenian War.
s gain Maritime Supremacy.
otia. 94. League of the Greek
ourishes. Battle of Coronea.
of Pericles.
omes glorious in Letters and
on of the Samians. [Art.
ation of War by the Peloponnesian League. 87. Peace of Antalcidas.
artans Rav- Age of Plato.
Attica. 71. Battle of Leuctra.
smitten with the Plague.
ruction of Plateæ. 63. Battle of Mantinea.
rtans butcher the Plateæns.
Cleon. 56. Second Sacred War begins.
f Sphacteria. Age of Xenophon and Aristotle.
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58. Dictatorship of Cincinnatus.
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49. Banishment of the Decemviri.
45. Appointment of Military Tribunes.
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37. Creation of the office of Censor.
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6. The Roman army supported by regular pay.

96. The town of Veii taken by Camillus.
90. Siege of Rome by the Gauls under Brennus.
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82. Execution of Marcus Manlius.
69. Abolition of the Military Tribuneship.
65. Rome visited with a plague.
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43. Outbreak of the First Samnite War.
40. Conquest of the Latin Cities.
38. Subjugation of Campania.
21. Overthrow of the Roman army at the Caudine Forks.
20. The Samnites defeated by the Romans.
10. Battle of the Vadimonian Lake.
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90. Capture of Pontius, and end of the conflict.
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80. King Pyrrhus, of Epirus, lands in Italy. He assists the Tarentines and defeats the Romans.
74. Pyrrhus is routed and expelled from [Italy.
66. Conquest of all Italy by the Romans.
Epoch of the construction of the Great Military Road.
64. Outbreak of the First Punic War.
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6. Africa reduced by Marius and Silla. 31. Battle of Actium.
1. Italy invaded by the Cimbri. The Republic transformed into the Empire.
Accession of Augustus.
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90. The Social War breaks out. [Pontus.
88. War declared against Mithridates, of
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83. Sulla returns from the East.
83. Massacre of the partisans of Marius.
79. War in Spain.
72. Pompey ends the Rebellion.
Insurrection of the Gladiators.

Reign of Orestes.
93. Accession of Amyntas II.
Brief reigns of Alexander II. and Perdiccas III.
60. Accession of Philip.
He makes war on the Paconians and the Aleriæ.
56. Birth of Alexander.
82. Reign of Ptolemy Ceraunus.
Philip subdues Thrace. 78. Reign of Antigonus Gonatus.
39. The Third Sacred War. Decline of Macedonia.
38. Battle of Chæronea. 42. Accession of Demetrius II.
36. Assassination of Philip. 32. Accession of Antigonus Doson.
Accession of Alexander the Great.
He restores order in Macedonia and Greece.
Is appointed Generalissimo. 20. Reign of Philip V.
34. He undertakes the conquest of Persia.
Battle of the Granicus.
34. Battle of Issus.
30. Battle of Arbela.
30. Completion of the conquest of the Persian Empire.
27. Alexander reaches the Indus.
Babylon becomes the capital of the Empire.
23. Death of Alexander.
23. The Empire divided among Alexander's successors.
Philip Aridæus reigns in Macedonia.
17. Reign of Cassander.
12. Seleucus founds the Greek kingdom of Syria.
Ptolemy Lagus reigns in Egypt.
Lysimachus, king of Thrace.
98. Accession of Philip IV.
94. Reign of Demetrius.
83. Antiochus Soter rules in Syria.
97. The Romans conquer the Macedonians at Cynocephalæ.
78. Accession of Perseus.
68. Battle of Pidna.
Macedonia becomes a Roman province.

of the Persian invasions.
98. Reign of Alexander I.
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Babylonia, takes the capital, and ends the Later Empire.
90. Dails defeated at Marathon.
85. Accession of Xerxes. 87. Peace of Antalcidas.
81. Beginning of the Great Invasion.
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ders Smerdis. 61. Accession of Ochus.
85. Accession of Artaxerxes. He invades and
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49. Peace of Callias. Battles of Issus and Arbela.
Magism. 26. Accession of Darius Nothus. 31. Overthrow of the Persian Empire.
Nothus beads a re- 12. Persia falls to Seleucus Nicator.
takes the throne. 7. Artaxerxes II. takes the throne.
Rebellion of Cyrus the Younger.

48. Founding of the Dynasty of the Arsacidæ.
17. Reign of Arsaces Artabanus.
Plateæ He makes war with Antiochus the Great.
56. Restoration of Persian influence by Mithridates I.
Parthia remains independent during the Roman ascendency.

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diligence of the great Council was the honor of Phœbus vindicated. From this time forth his oracle was more consulted than ever, and richer gifts were poured into his treasury. The influence of the Amphictyons was extended throughout all Greece. It was seen that in them the national religion and traditions had found an immovable bulwark against aggression—a power jealous of whatever seemed to threaten the unity and renown of Hellas.

CHAPTER XLIII.—GROWTH AND LAW.

MOST notable of the facts belonging to the second period of Greek development—a period extending from the epoch of the Dorian migrations to the revolt of the Ionian cities against the Persians—were the growth and preponderance of Sparta and Athens as the two leading Hellenic states, and the establishment of institutions by the legislation of Lycurgus and Solon. The first fact unfortunately involved a rivalry of the two commonwealths which became the bane of Greek history, but the other contained those legislative germs which, springing here and there in the soil of freedom, have contributed not a little to the growth of human liberty.

After the agitations consequent upon the Return of the Heraclidæ had somewhat subsided, there appeared in Peloponnesus the three leading states of Laconia, Argos, and Messenia. It was in the first of these that the new Dorian population from the North became most easily and completely predominant. Argos was not so much revolutionized, and Messenia was still less affected in her population and institutions by the invasions. A period followed in which the new masters of Southern Greece had to struggle and fight for the maintenance of their supremacy. By and by, when that supremacy was fully established and acknowledged, the two leading states of Peloponnesus—Sparta and Argolis—fell into quarrels and went to war. After the Dorian invasion of Argolis, that state still remained for a while a confederacy of free cities. Such were Argos—the capital—Cleonæ, Phlius, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Trœzen, and Ægina. These were leagued together in the common worship of Apollo, and each of the cities maintained a temple in his honor. The central shrine was in Argos, and from this place the authority of the confederacy was exercised. Her privileges increased until the time of Phidon, who was king of Argos, and who, about B. C. 747, reduced the free cities and established himself in a despotism.

It seemed that Argolis under his leadership was going to win an easy supremacy over all the Dorian states. He made a conquest of Corinth. He claimed to be *par excellence* the representative of the great ancestor, Heracles, and in his name demanded the submission of his kinsmen, the leaders of the Heraclidæ. In the Eighth Olympiad he interfered with the presidency of the games, deprived the Eleans of their privileges, took the presidency himself, and then set up the Pisatans instead of their deposed rivals.

This act, however, soon led to his downfall. For the Eleans, unwilling to lose the honorable prerogative of presiding over the Olympic festival, appealed to Sparta to aid in the maintenance of their rights. The appeal was favorably heard. The Spartans espoused the cause of the petitioners, went to war with Phidon, defeated him in battle, and destroyed the pretensions of Argolis to the leadership of Southern Greece. From this time forth there was never any doubt that Sparta was destined to the first place among the Peloponnesian states.

It will be remembered that, when the Heraclidæ drew lots for the distribution of territories, Laconia fell to the two sons of Aristodemus. This fact remained a precedent in Spartan institutions, and a

double, instead of a single, royal house was a part of the primitive constitution of the country. Up to the time of the war with Argolis and the establishment of the supremacy of Sparta, that state had had the same general type of civilization and development as the other Dorian communities and cities; but from this time onward a separation took place between Sparta and all the other Hellenic commonwealths, until she was almost as much distinguished in her institutions and popular characteristics from her sister Doric states of Argos and Corinth as she was from Thebes and Athens. Only with Crete did the customs, manners, and laws of the Spartans hold them in fellowship and sympathy. This separation—amounting to an isolation—of Sparta from the other Grecian states, and her consequent assumption of an independent career, were traceable to the work of her great lawgiver, LYCURGUS.

The dissensions in Laconia between the old and the new populations constituted a serious drawback to the progress of that state. The Dorian warriors, who had taken possession of the country, were too strong to be displaced, but the mass of the people smarted under their exactions, and would have rebelled but for fear of the consequences. Besides this source of trouble, the evil of a double royal house, involving the reign of two kings simultaneously, was felt as a dangerous obstacle to the public welfare. The Spartans, moreover, were by nature and previous history a lawless tribe, little disposed to accept the restraints of civilized society. All of these embarrassments combined in producing a necessity for a complete revision of existing laws, and in short for the establishment of a fixed constitution of government.

The preparation of such a constitution was committed to Lycurgus. Tradition makes him to have been of the Heraclidæ. He was the son of Eunomus, a brother of the King Polydectes. When the latter died, Lycurgus became guardian of his son Charilaüs, who was heir to the throne. In spite of the temptation to which he was subjected by the widow of the late king, who wished Lycurgus to murder the child and marry her, he remained true to the state, and, taking Charilaüs into the agora, had him proclaimed as king. He himself left Sparta and went into Crete.

Here he became a student of the laws and institutions of Minos, and them he is said to have made the basis of the code which he afterwards reported to his countrymen. From Crete he traveled into Egypt and Ionia, and even—if the tradition may be trusted—as far as India. While abroad he became acquainted with the Homeric poems, which had not hitherto been recited in Peloponnesus. On his return to his own people he found the state in anarchy, and a common belief that he was to be the agent of the rescue of his country. He accordingly yielded to public solicitation, consulted the oracle at Delphi, and undertook the preparation of a new frame of government. The oracle itself furnished the fundamental articles of the constitution, so that Lycurgus returned from Delphi with the sanction of Apollo. Appearing in the agora with thirty leading citizens, he made known his mission, which was gladly accepted by a majority of the people; but Charilaüs and a few of his partisans yielded with reluctance, and were overawed by the popular voice.

Lycurgus thus came to his countrymen in the double character of a law-giver and a messenger from Delphi. Necessity and Phœbus Apollo were the joint sponsors of his legislation. After a season the new constitution was prepared and given to the state. It was wisely based upon the fundamental conditions which were present in the country. The Doric race was recognized as in every respect predominant. The whole body of the population was divided into three classes: first, the Spartans of Dorian descent, who constituted the ruling caste; second, the Periœcæ, or Laconians, who far outnumbered the Spartans; and third, the Helots or slaves.

The Dorians had taken the land by conquest. They were accordingly retained as the soldier-class forever. No work, no business, was ever to interfere with their profession of arms. Estimating their numbers at nine thousand, Lycurgus divided the fruitful valley and plain of the Eurotas into nine thousand equal parts, and to each soldier one part was as-

signed for his support. But the tillage of the land was reserved for the servile class, the Helots, who were bound to the soil by a system of serfdom. The remaining lands of Laconia, chiefly consisting of mountainous districts in the interior, were divided into thirty thousand parts and distributed to the original inhabitants of the country, thenceforth called Periœcæ, or "dwellers around." The Periœcæ were to remain free, but were to devote themselves to agriculture, trade, and commerce. They were also subject to military service at the call of the dominant class of Spartans. There was thus, as nearly as practicable, an adaptation of all classes to the previous conditions existing in the state.

As another conservative measure, the two kings were left undisturbed, but their prerogatives were reduced to a mere dignity and to leadership in war. The legislative power was given to two assemblies. The first and highest consisted of thirty members called the *Gerontes*, or "old men," of whom the kings were two, whatever might be their ages. The remaining twenty-eight must be over sixty years old. The right to originate all laws and measures of state polity belonged to this body. The other assembly embraced as members all male Spartans over the age of thirty. These met once a month and voted upon the measures proposed by the Gerontes. The voting was to be by acclamation, *aye* or *no;* and no debate was permissible. From the first all discussions and wrangling were odious to the Spartan spirit.

The constitution of Lycurgus also established an overseership of six EPHORS, or magistrates. To them was intrusted a supervisory power over the laws passed by the assembly, and a final voice in all public matters. Even the kings were accountable to the Ephors for their conduct. The kingly office was thus so greatly hedged with restrictions as to be reduced to a minimum of influence, and in this shorn condition was permitted to survive in Sparta long after the complete destruction of royal prerogative in the other states of Greece.

The Lycurgian statutes next proceeded to the education of the Spartans. The theory of the government was that all classes existed for the benefit of the state. The individual was for the commonwealth—nothing else. There has, perhaps, never been in all history another instance in which the idea of individual subordination to the public good was carried to such lengths as in Sparta. The principle lay at the very bottom of Spartan society, and explained many otherwise inexplicable circumstances and peculiarities of the national character. It followed naturally from this theory that the citizenship should be adapted by proper training to the uses of the state. Of the dominant Spartans this would be true in the highest measure.

The system contemplated simply the making of soldiers. At birth the child was inspected to determine *its fitness to live.* There was no compunction. It was simply business. The Ephors decided the question. If weak or deformed the babe was exposed in the hills of Taygetus to perish. If robust and promising it was given to the mother for the first seven years and then taken from her. Henceforth the lad belonged to the state. He was put to school. The school was a gymnasium. No metaphysical nonsense was allowed about the establishment. It was for the development and hardening of the body. A course of rigid discipline and athletic exercises was prescribed, so severe and heartless as to defy a parallel. The youth must wear the same garment winter and summer. Hunger, thirst, and exposure must be endured without a murmur. When starving for food the lad might steal, but if caught in the act he was punished for *that.* One boy stole a fox, hid it under his garment, and suffered the beast to tear out his bowels rather than betray the theft. Once in his life each youth was taken before the altar of Artemis and scourged till his back ran gore. The boy was obliged to be silent or to say *yes* and *no*—no more. Whatever was more than these came of evil. He must be laconic, impassive. He must endure pain and smile. So must the Spartan girl; for the discipline was nearly alike for both sexes. All feeling must be eliminated. She who must presently give up her own babe to fill the belly of a Laconian wolf must do so smiling. At the age of thirty the boy was

promoted to manhood. He might then marry and engage in public affairs. He still, however, belonged to the state in the same sense as before. He slept in the public barracks, and was not released from military service until he reached the age of sixty.

One feature of the Lycurgian system is deserving of special mention, and that is the public mess. A table was spread, at which every male citizen was obliged to take his meals. The institution was called *Syssilia*, that is, "eating together." Each table was arranged for the accommodation of fifteen persons, and no others than those eating regularly at this bench could be admitted except by unanimous consent. The system was communistic. Each eater sent to the table monthly his quantum of provisions, consisting of a little barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs. A small money contribution was also levied for the purchase of meats and fish. These articles, however, were only eaten on occasion. At the common meal the principal dish was a kind of black broth, which was unsavory except to the half-starved whose ravenous stomachs craved filling, no matter with what.

As to intellectual accomplishments, the Lycurgian system provided for two—singing and playing on the lyre. But the idea in both was warlike. The song was a pæan for battle. The lyre was merely to waken martial enthusiasm. The poets of Sparta were the bards of the barracks. They sang and shouted nothing but war. In the times of Spartan greatness Homer was the favorite. Tyrtæus was a popular hero. Archilochus, who in one of his poems chanced to mention his own flight from the battle-field, was banished from the country!

What the Greeks of Central Hellas regarded as civilization was abhorred on the banks of the Eurotas. Elaborate speech, politeness, affable companionship, lively manners, these were frivolities of which a Spartan would not be guilty. Luxury was more to be dreaded than the plague. Riches meant inequality. Money was a necessary evil. To make it as little desirable as possible Lycurgus decreed that the coin of Sparta should be of *iron*. So should he be satirized and punished who traded, and he who took valuables to market would require a cart and oxen to bring home his money.[1] In such a school of roughness and austerity were the warlike virtues of the Dorians nursed into full vigor.

The system bore its fruits. The man became a soldier, utterly indifferent to hardship, exposure, death. The woman became the mother of such men, and was proud of it. She gave her son a shield with the injunction, "*Return with it or on it.*" When he was brought home stark from the battle-field, she said no word. The Spartan mother must not disgrace herself! She had only given her son to the state. It was for that she bore him. He had died on his shield. Why grieve for one who had served his country?—Thus it was that the Spartans became a race of soldiers; and such were their valor and stoicism in fight that there was just one way to defeat them, and that was to destroy the last man! As long as one remained, Sparta was invincible.

All of the early history of Peloponnesus is involved with that of Sparta. Two-thirds of the peninsula was completely under her control; and the rest acknowledged her leadership. With one state, however, she had a protracted and obstinate contest. This was Messenia, on the west, a commonwealth in which the supremacy of the Dorians had never been fully established or quietly accepted. It was only a question of time when the domination of Sparta would lead to an outbreak. The date assigned for the beginning of the first conflict is B. C. 743. Before this, one of the Spartan kings had been killed by the Messenians at the temple of Artemis, on Mount Taygetus, but the murderers gave such an account of the affair as justified the killing. Shortly afterwards, however, a private quarrel led to open war. Polychares, a leading Messenian, who had won a crown at an Olympic festival, was robbed of his cattle

[1] It has been urged with some plausibility that the statute for iron money did not properly belong to the laws of Lycurgus, but to a later date. As a matter of fact no gold or silver money had as yet been coined in Greece; and the practical satire of the Lycurgian system would, under the circumstances, be no satire at all.

by a Spartan, Euæphnus, who added to the crime by murdering the son of Polychares, who was sent for redress. The father appealed to the Spartan Ephors for justice, but was turned away. He then took matters into his own hands, and gave his herdsmen orders to kill all the Lacedæmonians whom they should meet. The Spartans, who were probably not displeased, secretly prepared for hostilities, marched across the frontier, took the fortress of Amphia, and killed the garrison.

War broke out in earnest. For four years the Messenians defended themselves with vigor, but in the fifth they were defeated and driven into their stronghold, the old fortress of Ithome. They appealed to the Delphic oracle, and answer was given that the king's daughter would have to be sacrificed to Hades in order to secure victory. The king was about to comply when the girl's lover interfered, and she was killed in a scandalous manner. Although this was no sacrifice, the superstitious Spartans were kept at bay by the news for several seasons. In the thirteenth year of the war, however, the struggle was renewed. The king of Messenia was killed in battle, and was succeeded by Aristodemus, who fought bravely for his country. Theopompus, king of Sparta, marched against him, and his forces were augmented by a large band of Corinthians. The Messenians were aided by the Arcadians and Sicyonians. In the eighteenth year of the struggle a great battle was fought in which the Spartans were defeated and driven into their own territories.

It was now their turn to apply to the oracle. An answer was returned which promised success on condition of a stratagem. Meanwhile, however, Aristodemus was dismayed by dreams. His murdered daughter appeared and beckoned him to follow. In despair he went to her tomb and killed himself. The Messenians were disheartened, and abandoned Ithome. The Spartans thereupon gained possession and leveled the fortress to the ground. The whole of Messenia was quickly overrun. Some of the inhabitants fled into Arcadia; others to Eleusis and Athens. Those who remained were reduced to a condition of servitude like that of the Helots. They were obliged by the conquerors to pay them one-half of the produce of their lands and to submit to intolerable marks of degradation.

After thirty-nine years, however, the spirit of the Messenians revived. In B. C. 685 Aristomenes claimed the kingdom, and soon showed himself to be a warrior worthy to lead his people to freedom. A revolt broke out, which, before it was quelled, drew into the vortex of war nearly all the states of Peloponnesus. The haughty conduct of Sparta had borne the natural fruits of disloyalty, and the Argives, Arcadians, Sicyonians, and Pisatans all espoused the cause of the Messenians against their oppressors. As in the previous war, however, the Corinthians sided with Sparta and sent her a contingent of troops.

The first conflict was indecisive, but the advantage was with Aristomenes. As a piece of effrontery he crossed the Spartan frontier by night, went to the temple of Athena of the Brazen Horse, and hung up a shield with this inscription: "Dedicated by Aristomenes to the goddess from the Spartan spoils." Such was the effect of this piece of audacity that the Spartans again cried to the Delphic oracle for advice. The answer was returned that they should apply to the Athenians for a leader. This was wormwood to both the parties; but the Athenians, fearing to disobey the voice of Phœbus, selected a lame schoolmaster and poet named Tyrtæus, and sent him to lead the warrior Spartans to victory! The latter received him with honor, and he soon showed both them and the senders what a bard may do in war. He began to compose martial songs so inspired with the spirit of battle that the courage of the Spartans was revived and themselves fired with the greatest zeal for the conflict. Tyrtæus was made a citizen of the state, and the war was renewed with vigor.

At the first battle, however, fought at the Boar's Grave, in the plain of Stenyclerus, the Spartans and Corinthians were defeated with great losses. During the second year Aristomenes still kept his foe at bay, but in the third a decisive battle was fought which, through the treachery of one of the allied chiefs, resulted in a signal disaster to the

Messenians. Aristomenes was obliged to retire from the open field to the mountain fortress of Ira, where for eleven years he maintained the cause of his country. From this stronghold he would as occasion offered sally forth in successful raids against the foe.

Such was his prowess that three times he celebrated the sacrifice of Hecatomphonia for having in each instance slain with his own hand a hundred of the enemy. Three times he was taken. Twice he broke away from his captors, but in the third case he was carried with fifty others to Sparta and thrown into a deep pit. All the rest were killed, but he fell to the bottom unhurt. The next day he saw a live fox in the pit, and seizing the beast by the tail, he followed it through the fissures in the rocks till he found an exit and escaped. Equal was the surprise both to his own friends and the enemy when he reäppeared at Ira.

Nevertheless, the indomitable energy of the Spartans gradually gained the ascendency. Aristomenes was said to have forfeited the favor of the gods. He was wounded, and, while in a disabled condition, was attacked by the Lacedæmonians, who succeeded in capturing Ira. Aristomenes escaped with a band of followers. They fled first into Arcadia, and afterwards into Rhodes, where the hero passed the rest of his days. Many others of his countrymen, led by his sons, left Messenia and found refuge in Rhegium in Southern Italy. The memory of their brave king was long cherished by the Messenians, whose bards recited his heroism and recounted his reäppearance in battle.

Thus, in the year B. C. 668, ended the Second Messenian War. The people were again reduced to serfdom. For three hundred years they remained in a state of abject dependence upon the wills of their conquerors. Their history during this long period is known only in connection with that of the dominant state. Their territory was annexed to Laconia, whose limits were thus extended across Peloponnesus from sea to sea. The supremacy of the Spartan oligarchy was thus completely established in all the southern portion of the peninsula. The adjacent parts of Arcadia were also brought under their sway, and as far north as the gulf of Corinth there were none left, except the Tegeans, courageous enough to dispute their leadership.

The city of Tegea, however, situated in the south-eastern portion of Arcadia, determined to fight for independence. The people were brave and had a warlike history. Twice they had already measured spears successfully with the Spartans. In the reign of Charilaüs, nephew of Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonians had marched against Tegea, but were disastrously defeated. Their king and all the survivors of the battle were captured. In B. C. 580, the Spartans again invaded the territory and were again routed. The prisoners were taken and enslaved, being obliged to toil in the very chains which they had brought for the Tegeans. The latter thus maintained their independence for thirty years. In B. C. 560, however, the struggle was renewed by the Spartan kings, Anaxandrides and Ariston. The Delphic oracle sent the Spartans a message that they should be successful when they secured the bones of Orestes, son of Agamemnon, now buried at Tegea. This feat was accomplished by a stratagem, and the relics were carried in triumph to Sparta. Then the tide turned against the Tegeans. They were defeated in several engagements, their city was taken, and themselves reduced to dependency. In this case, however, the conquering state preferred the alliance rather than the enslavement of the people, and Tegea was spared the fate of Ira and Ithome.

The Spartans also succeeded in annexing the district of Cynuria to their territories. This province had belonged to Argos, and the attempt of that city to recover their possession brought on war. It was agreed between the two states that the question should be decided in a single combat between three hundred chosen warriors on each side. The picked force of Argives and Spartans went into battle, and so fierce was the fight that only two of the former and one of the latter were left alive. The two Argives, believing themselves victorious, bore the news to Argos, but the Spartan remained on the field, stripped the bodies of the dead, and claimed the victory.

Thereupon the armies of the two states marched out and fought a decisive battle, in which the Argives were defeated. Othryades, the Spartan who had survived from the previous conflict, slew himself in despair because he was left alive. Cynuria remained to Sparta, and Argos no longer dared to oppose any impediment to the will of the conqueror.

Meanwhile, in other parts of Greece, important political changes had taken place, by which the form of the government in most of the states had been altered to what is known as a despotism. In all of the commonwealths except Sparta the kingly office had been abolished. Indeed, in such small states the institution of royalty could not flourish, for the king was seen and known as a man rather than as a ruler. At his death his son sometimes succeeded to his power, but was frequently limited to a term of years. The next step was the choice of some nobleman or chief, who, with the title of *Archon*, exercised the same authority hitherto possessed by the king; but the officer so chosen was not recognized as having a dignity much above that of his fellow nobles. So the government virtually rested, after the abolition of royalty, in the hands of the few, and was designated as an *oligarchy*, distinguished on the one side from kingly prerogative, and on the other from democracy.

Such was the general political condition at the middle of the seventh century B. C., when a new factor appeared in Greek politics. This was the despot. He generally came in the character of some leading citizen, who by espousing the cause of the people gained sufficient power to overthrow the oligarchy and make himself ruler of the city. He was generally designated by the Greeks themselves by the name of *Tyrant*, but the Greek sense of that word is so different from the English equivalent as to make the word *Despot*, or Master, a better translation. As a rule the despot arose from the ranks of the artisans, but sometimes a noble would take advantage of his position to become a popular leader. The authority of such a ruler when once established was generally exercised in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner, and not infrequently the Greeks had cause to deplore the revolution by which such a system of government had been substituted for the oligarchy. In such cases the hatred of the people for their own tool who had now become their master was intense, and this led to the next step in the political evolution, namely the substitution of democracy for the despotism.

It will readily appear that Sparta, wherein the old form of kingship had been retained by the Lycurgian statutes, was naturally thrown in her sympathies on the side of the oligarchies of Greece, as against the despotisms and the growing tendencies towards democracy. The oligarchy stood next to royalty, and in the light of this fact the conduct of the Spartan government in its numerous interferences in the affairs of other Greek states must be interpreted. Such interference became a necessity of the situation, made so by the natural desire of the Spartans to maintain a preponderating influence throughout Greece.

Just west of the isthmus of Corinth was the city of Sicyon. Like the other states, Sicyonia had been under the oligarchical form of government; but in B. C. 676, a popular leader named Orthagoras arose, and a despotism was established instead. The primitive population of the country, who had never been exterminated by the Dorian conquerors, supported Orthagoras, and he was thus enabled to fix his tyranny so firmly that the dynasty lasted for a hundred years. The last of the line was Clisthenes, who was famed in his time for a victory won in a chariot race at the Olympic games. He died in B. C. 560, and leaving no son the despotism became extinct.

A similar tyranny flourished in Corinth for seventy-four years. It began its career with the overthrow of the Bacchiadæ in B. C. 655, and was established by Cypselus. He was himself descended from the nobles, but espoused the cause of the popular party. After conducting the government well for thirty years, he left it to his son Periander, who was greatly detested for his cruelty and exactions. Nevertheless, it was under his iron rule that Corinth became one of the leading cities of Greece—a place which she held for several

centuries. The tyrant patronized art and letters, and invited the most learned men of his times to his court. After reigning for forty years he was succeeded by a relative, Psammetichus, who reigned four years, and with him the dynasty perished.

The despotism in Megara was established by Theagenes, in B. C. 630. He appeared in the usual way as a leader of the people, overthrew the oligarchy, and made himself master of the state. After holding authority for thirty years, he was driven from the government, but his party punished the offense by despoiling the homes of the nobles. An edict was passed by which all existing debts were canceled, and the rich made to refund the interest which they had received on loans. These actions, however, so exasperated the party of the nobles that the latter rallied a strong force and the party of Theagenes was suppressed. The oligarchy was reëstablished, and remained as the fixed form of government for several generations. Such, then, was the general course of events in Peloponnesus from the establishment of the Lycurgian constitution to the close of the sixth century B. C. Meanwhile a state had arisen in Central Greece whose fame was destined to be everlasting.

The story of the founding of Athens by Cecrops has already been given. From that time until the age of Solon, who gave to the state its constitution, the history of Attica contains only traditions. One of the principal of these is the consolidation by Theseus of the twelve districts into which Cecrops had divided the peninsula. Another is that of the abolition of royalty. In the time of the Dorian invasion of Attica the Delphic oracle gave answer to the invaders that they would be successful if the life of the Athenian king was spared. The name of that ruler was Codrus. Hearing the report of the oracle, he disguised himself, went before the walls of Athens, provoked a quarrel with the Dorian soldiers, and permitted himself to be killed.

DEATH OF CODRUS.—Drawn by H. Vogel.

Learning what they had done the Dorians broke up their camp and retired from Attica. The Athenians, in joy for their deliverance, declared that no one was worthy to succeed

Codrus in the government, and accordingly abolished the office of royalty, substituting therefor the *archonship*. The right to be Archon, however, was for the time limited to the family of Codrus. Eleven members of that family succeeded one another in the government, and then, in B. C. 752, the office was limited to a period of ten years. Thirty-eight years later the restriction to the family of Codrus was removed and the archonship thrown open to all the nobles. The next step in the road to democracy was taken in B. C. 683, when the office was limited to one year's duration, and distributed to nine persons instead of one. Of these nine, however, one continued to be the chief archon and the rest associates. None but the nobles were eligible to the archonship; so that the government of Athens was peaceably transferred from royalty to oligarchy in the same manner as in the states of Peloponnesus. As yet the people had no voice in the direction of public affairs.

The class-distinctions of the Athenian populace were arranged—so says tradition—by Theseus. There were three castes: the *Eupatridæ*, or nobles; the *Geomori*, or husbandmen; and the *Demiurgi*, or artisans. The first exercised all the political and religious rites of the people; the husbandmen tilled the soil; the artisans plied their respective crafts; but neither wielded any considerable influence in the affairs of state.

From the institution of the annual archonship, in B. C. 683, the more authentic history of Athens begins. Of the nine archons who were then appointed instead of the one who had held authority previously, one was the President, called *Archon Eponymus;* for the year took its name from him. He was the representative of the *State*, and decided all matters of public importance. The second archon was called *Basileus;* and to him was committed the oversight of *Religion*. The third bore the title of *Polemarch*, and commanded the army. The remaining six were called *Thesmothetæ*, or legislators. The constitution of the Court of Areopagus, or Senate of Athens, has already been described. Such was the character of Athenian political society in the times preceding the legislation of Solon.

The government of the oligarchy was severe and arbitrary. There were no written laws, and the precedents of the state were not well established. It was withal a government of partiality, administered by the nobles for the nobles. After about a half a century the public discontent became so great that a nobleman named DRACO, of whose previous history but little is known, was appointed to draft a code of written laws. The work was undertaken in B. C. 624. The lawgiver adopted the constitution of Athenian society as it was, and gave his attention almost wholly to the question of crime and its punishment. His laws were characterized by extreme severity. All crimes were punishable with death! The theory was that a petty theft deserved death, and for murder no greater penalty could be affixed. It was said that his statutes were written in blood. Perhaps, however, the code was as merciful as the spirit of the age; for the age cared nothing for the sacredness of human life.

The code of Draco was of little utility. Violence and discontent continued to prevail to such an extent as to prevent the growth and endanger the stability of the state. After a few years of trouble a revolution was undertaken by the malcontents headed by Cylon, one of the Eupatridæ. He was the son-in-law of Theagenes, the tyrant of Megara, from whom he learned the lesson of despotism as a cure for public troubles. Obtaining from the Delphic oracle an answer which he regarded as favorable, he seized the Acropolis and undertook to maintain himself against the authorities of the city, but he was soon overthrown and driven from the country. Many of his adherents were hunted down and were slain even at the very altars of the gods where they had taken refuge.

This act of sacrilege, however—done as it was by the orders of Megacles, one of the archons—terrified the people to such a degree that the family to which Megacles belonged was put under the ban and their trial demanded by the court. But the offending nobles could not for the time be brought to justice, and the confusion in the state grew from bad to dangerous, until Solon persuaded

the family of the Alcmæonidæ, to which Megacles belonged, to submit their cause to trial. The court adjudged them guilty, and they were banished from Attica. Still the Athenians were terrified at the imagined anger of the gods, and a plague in the city was attributed to the vengeance of those whose altars had been profaned by the shedding thereat of human blood. Nor could the public mind be quieted until, at the suggestion of the Delphic oracle, the Cretan sage Epimenides was brought to Athens to purify her from pollution.

In this business, which resulted in producing comparative quiet, the guiding hand of SOLON again appeared. To him the people of the city began to look as to one who by his wisdom and prudence was able to save the state from anarchy. This remarkable man was born in the year B. C. 638. He was on his father's side descended from Codrus, and by his mother was related to Pisistratus. In youth he learned a trade, and afterwards traveled as a merchant in Greece and Asia. He was a poet of no mean ability, and while yet comparatively young was reckoned as one of the Seven Wise Men of his country. Returning from his travels, he became interested in public affairs, and soon acquired a great reputation for probity and learning. In B. C. 600 he rendered the state most valuable service by commanding the Athenian expedition for the recovery of Salamis, which had revolted to Megara. After a tedious struggle the decision of the question was left to the arbitration of Sparta. Solon went thither as the ambassador of Athens, and managed the cause so skillfully as to obtain a judgment in favor of his country. Soon afterwards his fame was further heightened by the influence which he wielded over the Amphictyonic Council in inducing that body to declare war against the town of Cirrha, thus precipitating the Sacred War.

At the age of Solon the Athenian commonwealth embraced three classes of citizens. These were first the *Pediæi*, or wealthy class, who, living mostly in the open country in and about Athens, were designated as THE PLAIN; second, the *Diacrii*, or poor people of the hilly districts, who were called THE MOUNTAIN; third, the *Parali*, or mercantile class, living mostly on the sea-coast, and known as THE SHORE. These classes were arrayed against each other politically, and a reconciliation of their interests seemed impossible. The poor were in great distress. The rich had loaned them money, and had charged exorbitant rates of interest. Both the property and the person of the debtor were mortgaged to the rapacious creditor. Payment was in most instances impossible. Many of those who had been bankrupted had become the slaves of those whom they owed. Others had been actually sold to barbarians. The materials of a disastrous insurrection were ready to be fired by the first spark of agitation.

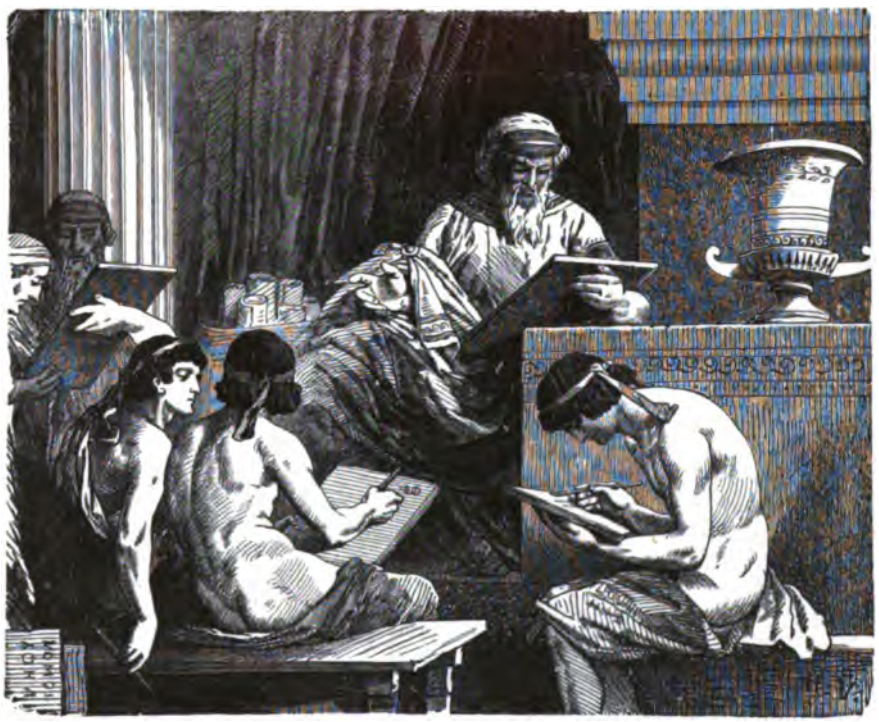
The oligarchs became alarmed, and appealed to Solon for aid. They knew that he had the confidence of the Mountain and the Shore, as well as their own. In B. C. 594 he was chosen archon, and was authorized to exercise unlimited powers in remodeling the constitution of the state. All parties accepted his appointment as an earnest of reform. Such was the universality of his influence that he might easily have usurped all the functions of the government, overthrown the oligarchy, and made himself master of Athens; but his virtue was equal to his ability, and he rebuked those who tempted him to such a course. He entered upon his work without the least bias of personal ambition.

As a preliminary measure he abolished all the laws of Draco except that relating to murder. He then divided the people into classes, according to their property assessment. This division was made the basis of the new political system; for a man's right to political preferment rested henceforth on the amount of property of which he was possessed. As a measure of present relief, he canceled all mortgages which had been given on the score of interest. Debtors sold into slavery were set free. The lands of the state were freed from encumbrances. The power to mortgage the person for debt was annulled. No general abolition of debt was attempted; but, as a measure of relief, the standard of the coinage was lowered about one-fourth, so that the new

silver mina contained but seventy-three parts in a hundred of its former value. It was found that Solon himself was a loser by this measure; for he had loaned five talents, which were paid back in units of the lower standard.

In the property division of the citizens the first class was made to consist of those whose annual incomes were in excess of five hundred measures of corn. These were called the *Pentacosiomedimni*. The second class embraced all whose incomes ranged between three hundred and five hundred measures. They were called the *Knights*, from the fact that each in this rank was considered able to furnish a war-horse to the state. The third class was made of those whose annual revenues were between two hundred and three hundred measures of corn. Those belonging to this class were called *Zeugitæ*, from the fact that each was reckoned able to own a yoke of oxen. The fourth rank embraced all whose incomes amounted to less than two hundred measures. The members of this class were designated as *Thetes*, and were in excess of the other classes in numbers, being the common people of Attica.

As to public honors, all the higher offices, including the archonship, were reserved for citizens of the first class. The inferior offices, however, might be held by persons of the second and third classes. Citizens of the fourth rank might hold no public trust whatever. But these discriminations were counterbalanced by a just distribution of burdens. An income-tax was levied on the first three classes, but the fourth class was exempt. Citizens of the second and third ranks were subject, as well as the first, to military service, the second furnishing the cavalry and the third the heavy-armed foot. The light-armed troops were furnished by the fourth rank. The disqualification of the common people for holding office was compensated by the right of suffrage. The right to vote in the public assembly was conceded to the Thetes, who, being in the majority, might control the election of the archons and other officers; and since the archon, at the end of his year of office, was subject to prosecution before the



SOLON DICTATING HIS LAWS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

assembly for his public acts, the check of the Fourth Estate upon the administration of affairs was very salutary.

As a counterpoise to this enlargement of the Assembly, Solon instituted a Senate, or Council of Four Hundred, with whom all matters of discussion in the popular body must originate. The senators were elected by the Assembly, and in turn presided over its deliberations. Like the archons, they held office for a year, and were amenable at the end of the term for their conduct. The old Court of Areopagus was retained by Solon, but additional duties were imposed upon it. Besides its ancient powers, it was given a general supervision of the laws and the duty of supervising the lives and occupations of the people.

In the punishment of crime the legislation of Solon was merciful. The thief must return double the value of the thing stolen. Slander of either the living or the dead was prohibited. Foreigners were invited to settle in Attica. The father must teach his son some useful trade or run the risk of being left uncared for in his old age. He who took a prize in the Olympic or Isthmian games should be rewarded and honored. He who in case of a civil sedition stood aloof and took no sides was devoid of public spirit and should be disfranchised.

When the Constitution was completed it was inscribed in rollers and tablets and deposited in the Acropolis. Solon acknowledged that the work was imperfect, but held it to be the best that the Athenians were able to bear. When the task was completed, he bound the Athenians by an oath to keep his statutes for ten years, and then, to avoid the annoyance of those who were sure to want alterations and amendments, he went abroad as a traveler. He visited Egypt and Cyprus, and in the latter place was honored with the founding of a new town named *Soli*, in his honor.

Afterwards he went to Sardis and made the acquaintance of Crœsus. It was on this occasion that the celebrated interview occurred which has been so much repeated for its lesson. Crœsus, desiring to make an impression on his visitor, took him into his treasury and showed him his riches. He then inquired of the impassive philosopher whom he considered the happiest man he had ever seen. Solon, after some little reflection, named two obscure Greeks whom the Lydian had never heard of. Mortified at being unable to extort a compliment, Crœsus expressed his disgust, but Solon explained that no man can well be accounted happy until his life is ended, since the vicissitudes of human affairs may soon bring even the proudest to the level of the beggar. For the time the lesson made no impression on the proud monarch; but in after years, when his kingdom was overturned and himself, a prisoner, was about to be burned to death by the orders of Cyrus the Great, Crœsus in his anguish cried out the name of Solon. Cyrus inquired upon what god the condemned was calling, and was told the story of the philosopher's interview and saying. The lesson was so well suited to the Persian king that he ordered Crœsus to be liberated and made him his friend.—It is unfortunate that this story is mythical rather than authentic.

After ten years Solon, in B. C. 562, returned to Athens. He found a very unhappy state of circumstances. The Shore, the Mountain, and the Plain could not be reconciled. At the head of the three parties stood Megacles, one of the Alcmæonidæ; Pisistratus, a cousin of Solon; and Lycurgus, a wealthy Athenian. The second of these partisan chiefs had by far the greatest influence. He was an able general, an accomplished orator, and a demagogue. He espoused the cause of the Mountain, not for the Mountain's sake, but for his own; for he was ambitious to become master of Athens. His plans were already well matured when Solon returned to Athens. The latter attempted to dissuade Pisistratus to desist from his ambitious schemes, but failing to influence him, he next addressed the people of the city in poems, directed to the political dangers which menaced the state. These also were ineffectual. Meanwhile, a crisis was precipitated by Pisistratus. Having wounded himself and hacked his chariot mules until they were bloody, he drove to the market-square and showed himself bleeding to the people, whom he told that the Plain

had attempted to kill him for defending popular liberty. A tumult followed. The stratagem was successful. The people ran together in an assembly, and against the protest of Solon, voted Pisistratus a body-guard of fifty men. He gradually increased the number, and when sufficiently strong seized the Acropolis and made himself master of the city. It was expected that Solon would be banished or put to death, but Pisistratus treated him with kindness, and even solicited his advice in matters of administration. But the old sage did not long survive. He died in B. C. 558, and his ashes were, according to his will, sown in the island of Salamis, which he had won in his youth for Athens.

CRŒSUS SHOWING SOLON HIS TREASURES.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

After the usurpation of PISISTRATUS the other leaders, Lycurgus and Megacles, were for a time driven from the city. Soon, however, they combined against him, and he in turn was driven into exile. But the Shore and the Plain could not long agree. The leaders quarreled, and Megacles made overtures to Pisistratus, to whom he proposed to give his daughter in marriage. A scheme was concocted for the return of the exiled tyrant. It was arranged that a tall and beautiful woman, named Phya, should go to him and accompany his return in the character of Pallas Athene! So the factitious goddess mounted the chariot beside the despot and rode into Athens, the awe-struck people looking on in wonder at the prodigy, and quietly permitting Pisistratus a second time to usurp the powers of the state.

The tyrant married the daughter of Megacles, but soon treated her with contempt. He, offended at this, abandoned Pisistratus, and again made common cause with Lycurgus. After a brief struggle the despot was again driven off. His exile in Eubœa lasted for ten years, but at the end of that time he crossed over into Attica, collected his partisans at Marathon, defeated the forces of his rivals, and a third time made himself supreme in the city. The pardon which he offered to those

who had opposed him was generally accepted, and those who did not accept were exiled.

The government of Pisistratus during the Third Tyranny was firm and severe. He maintained his authority by means of a band of Thracian mercenaries. The children of those who were suspected of plotting against him were seized and sent to Naxos. But in the matter of exactions his rule was milder than that of the oligarchy. He kept the statutes of Solon without alteration, and was himself obedient to the law. He won the applause of the Fourth Estate by throwing open his gardens to the poor of the city. He adorned Athens with public buildings. He encouraged art and literature. He established the first public library in Greece, and laid all the world under obligation by the collection of the Homeric poems. For thirty-three years he kept Athens in a state of tranquillity which she had never known before. Dying, he bequeathed the government to his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, and they, in B. C. 527, began an administration of the same character as that of their father. Hipparchus was the more noted of the two. He promoted literature by maintaining at his court the poets Anacreon and Simonides. To his time belongs the setting up of the *Hermæ*, or small statues of Hermes, which were placed along the streets and in other places to denote boundaries, and by the inscriptions which they bore to remind the people of moral obligations.

Matters were going well in the government until a private feud led to the assassination of Hipparchus. A certain Harmodius, having given offense to the two rulers, Hippias sought revenge by a public insult to his sister. Harmodius and his friend Aristogiton determined to appease their anger by killing both of the governors. At the festival of the Panathenæa they stood with daggers hid in their myrtle leaves waiting their opportunity. But Hippias was seen conversing with one who was in the secret, and the conspirators believed themselves betrayed. They, however, made a rush on Hipparchus and cut him down; but Hippias escaped. He immediately arrested those who were found to be in the conspiracy, and they were either executed or banished. This was but the beginning of a career of cruelty. Many citizens were condemned on mere suspicion. The taxes were increased, and the whole body of the people grievously oppressed. There were loud mutterings of discontent, and the exiled family of the Alcmæonidæ made an effort, though without success, to overthrow the government of Hippias. Finally, however, through the influence of the Delphic oracle, the Spartans, though hitherto friendly to the family of Pisistratus, were induced to interfere against the Athenian tyrant. Their first attempt ended in failure, but in a second invasion of Attica, Hippias was defeated and obliged to go into exile. He fled to Sigeum, on the coast of Asia Minor, and became a fruitful source of disturbance in the relations between the Greeks and the Persians. The expulsion of the tyrant was regarded by his countrymen as a deliverance from thralldom and oppression.

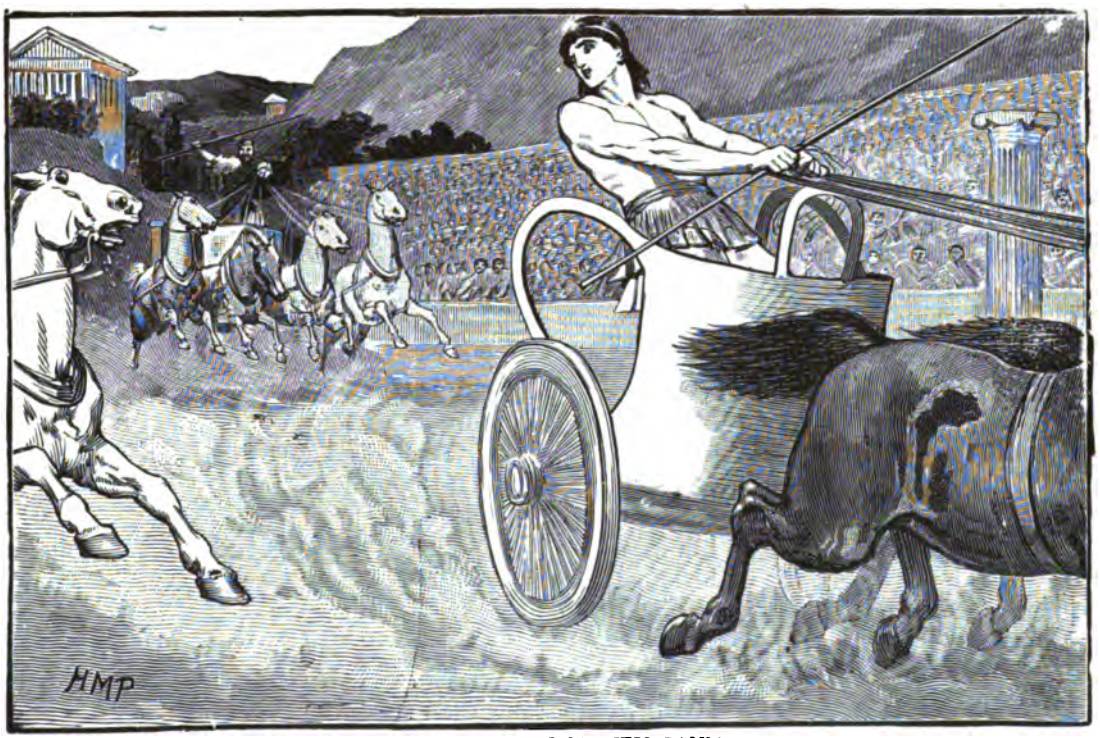
At this time CLISTHENES, the son of Megacles, appeared in the theater of Athenian politics. The Spartans, after expelling Hippias, had left the people to their own ways. It was Clisthenes who had by his strategy won over the oracle to declare against the family of Pisistratus. To him Athens now looked for further assistance. He came as the leader of the popular party, and was opposed by ISAGORAS, who was backed by the nobles. According to the statutes of Solon the First Estate had a monopoly of the highest offices, and this fact gave the advantage to Isagoras. But Clisthenes laid the axe at the root of the tree by proposing a change in the constitution, by which the Third Estate should be admitted to a share in the government. It was the beginning of the Athenian democracy.

As a measure precedent to the contemplated change, the four classes, or castes, into which the Athenians had been divided were abolished, and the whole body of the populace distributed into ten new tribes. Until this time great numbers of residents in Attica had not had the rights of citizenship, from the fact that they had never been classified with either of the four estates. The Clisthenian plan proposed that all should be included in

the redistribution of the population. By this plan the aggregate citizenship of the state was vastly increased in numbers, and the increase nearly all went to the credit of the democracy. The new distribution was not based upon class-distinctions, but on territory, the only true basis of political division. The territory of each tribe was called a *deme*, and every person living within the district was obliged to enroll himself as a citizen. Each deme managed its local affairs in its own way, and had its own magistrate, called the Demarchus.

Another change introduced by Clisthenes was the enlargement of the senate to five hundred members, or fifty from each tribe. The powers of the body were also multiplied, so that a good share of the administration of the state was included in its functions. It sat the year around, and was presided over by the senators in turn. The Ecclesia, or Assembly, met forty times a year, and was also presided over by certain senators detailed for that duty. The general effect of the whole movement directed by Clisthenes was to transfer the government from archons, or governors, to the people, and to substitute for the close and arbitrary methods of the oligarchy the open discussions of a public assembly, thus preparing the way for the age of Pericles.

The military arrangement was based upon the tribal distribution. Each tribe elected its own general, so that an Athenian army was generally commanded by ten officers of equal rank. The old rank of polemarch, however, was retained from the times of the archonship to the date of the Persian wars. It will readily be seen that the efficiency of an Athenian army would depend rather upon valor and discipline than upon generalship, for no generalship could well be developed under a system which required each commanding officer to be general for a day and to give place to another on the morrow.



CLISTHENES IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

The condition of affairs in Athens was now such as to afford unusual opportunities for the ambitious citizen to become first a demagogue and then a despot. As a counterpoise against this danger, Clisthenes introduced the *Ostracism*. The plan was, in brief, to banish by a

popular vote for a period of ten years any one who might be considered dangerous to the state. The method was this. If the Senate and Ecclesia should first decide that the state was menaced by a citizen, the question was submitted to the people. Each citizen who desired to vote wrote the name of the person whom he wished to have banished on an *ostracon*, or oyster-shell, and dropped it into the urn. If, when the shells were counted, it was found that six thousand votes had been cast against any person, the measure was carried as to him. No special charge need be preferred against the person considered dangerous. He was allowed no opportunity of trial or defense. The only cheering symptom of his case was that he might return without serious disparagement at the end of his term of condemnation, or might be recalled at any time by the same power which had condemned him to banishment. None the less, the abuses of such an arbitrary and extraordinary system were fewer than might have been expected. As a matter of fact, it was not easy to get six thousand free citizens to vote for the exile of another free citizen unless they *thought* that there were good grounds to suspect his patriotism.

The constitution proposed by Clisthenes greatly heightened his reputation with his countrymen. His rival, Isagoras, was driven to the unwise extreme of inviting foreign influence to counteract what he himself could not successfully oppose. So he sent word to the Spartan king CLEOMENES that one of the accursed family of the Alcmæonidæ was master of Athens, and invoking his aid to secure the expulsion of Clisthenes. The Spartan accepted the invitation and marched a force into Attica. But Clisthenes, seeing himself the cause of trouble to his country, retired from Athens before the arrival of Cleomenes. The latter, however, attempted to undo the new constitution. He reduced the Senate to three hundred men, and then expelled seven hundred families of those who were the principal supporters of the recent statutes. These proceedings so angered the people that they took up arms, drove Cleomenes and Isagoras into the citadel, and compelled them to surrender. Clisthenes came back on the rising tide, and the Spartan king was allowed to retire in disgrace. Isagoras went into exile, but many of his leading adherents in Athens were put to death. The reäction was so strong as to secure the complete establishment of the new constitution as the fundamental law of the state.

It was not to be expected that Sparta would tamely bear the recent humiliation of her king by the Athenian democrats. Clisthenes clearly foresaw that Cleomenes would renew the conflict at the earliest practicable moment. He accordingly determined to strengthen himself by a foreign alliance. Messengers were sent to Tissaphernes, satrap of Lydia, requesting his support for Athens in the expected struggle with the Spartans. The message was kindly received by the Persian governor, who returned answer that if the Athenians would send earth and water as tokens of submission to the Great King he would defend them against their enemies. The messengers accepted the terms, but on their return to Athens the conditions were repudiated with proper disgust.

Meanwhile, Cleomenes called together his allies from Peloponnesus, and marched a large force into Attica to Eulusis. The Spartan kept to himself as long as possible the destination of the expedition, and when he was finally obliged to divulge his purpose the Corinthians refused to proceed. His colleague Demaratus also opposed the further prosecution of the campaign. So the whole movement fell to pieces. Unfortunately for themselves, the Thebans and Chalcidians of Eubœa had been induced by Cleomenes to join in the movement against Athens. That city now found herself free to punish the defection of those from whom she had a right to expect friendship and had received enmity. She accordingly sent a force against Thebes and inflicted upon her a severe defeat. Thence marching into Eubœa, the Chalcidians were still more severely dealt with. Their estates were confiscated and divided among four thousand of the Athenian poor.

These marked successes of Athens so fired the jealousy of the Spartans that they deter-

mined to make a third effort to undo the democratic institutions of their rival. The tyrant Hippias was sent for from Sigeum, and coming to Sparta represented to her assembled allies the great benefits from his restoration to authority. But the Corinthians refused, as before, to have any thing to do with the enterprise. They denounced the system of despotism which Sparta would establish in Athens as a wicked and bloody thing, and the other allies were scarcely less outspoken in their denunciations. Further interference with Athenian affairs had to be abandoned, and Hippias returned to his exile, first at Sigeum and afterwards at the court of Darius. Athens thus relieved of her perils, pursued her own course under the auspices of democracy, and was not long in taking the foremost rank among the cities of Greece.

Up to this point in their history a general view of the progress of the Greek states would show them pursuing independent careers and tending to antagonisms rather than to unity among themselves. The final causes of this condition have already been referred to as existing in the peculiar country which the Greek tribes settled and the spirit of freedom and individuality peculiar to the race. As long as these primary forces of development were left free to work out their own results the Grecian commonwealths preferred a certain local completeness to any possible union of the Hellenes in one nation. It was only when this excessive individuality was overcome by the presence of a common danger that coöperation was rendered possible and unity considered a good. The time came, however, when such a danger appeared imminent and overwhelming, and it will be the purpose of the following chapter to recount the heroism of the Greeks in the shadow of the peril.

CHAPTER XLIV.—THE PERSIAN WARS.

IT will be remembered that the ambition of Darius the Great led him into an expedition against the Scythians inhabiting the great plain between the Don and the Danube. The circumstances of that campaign have already been narrated in the History of the Persian Empire.[1] In the conduct of the invasion the king was in many things dependent upon the Greeks of Asia Minor, especially those living on the shores of the Hellespont. The course taken by the expedition was determined by the advice of one of the Grecian generals, and the bridge of boats by which Darius crossed into Europe was built by Greek carpenters, and it was at the suggestion of the same friends that the bridge was left standing to insure an easy return if the Persians should meet with disaster. It will also be recalled that while Darius was prosecuting the campaign a body of Scythians came suddenly to the Hellespont, reporting that the Persians were defeated, and urging the guards of the bridge to burn it down, make common cause with themselves, and overwhelm the invaders. This advice was seconded by Miltiades, an Athenian, now despot of the Thracian Chersonesus, and many of the Ionian Greeks favored the same policy; but Histiæus of Miletus supported the king, reminding the Ionian governors that if their master was destroyed they would perish with him. This view prevailed. So Darius on his return found a safe exit from the perils that were gathering around him.

Megabazus was left with an army of eighty thousand men to finish the work on the Hellespont. He quickly reduced the remnant of the Greek cities which had not yielded to Persia, and then, in B. C. 510, carried his conquest through Thrace to the borders of Macedonia. From this point he sent an embassy to Amyntas, the king, de-

[1] See Book Sixth., p. 360.

manding earth and water, and these were immediately sent. This proceeding extended the limits of the Empire to Thessaly, so that any further enlargement in that direction would involve a direct conflict with the European Greeks. Meanwhile, however, Histiæus fell under the suspicion of Megabazus, who induced Darius to summon him to Susa. Once there, he was detained under the pretext that the Persian king could not spare the society of so refined a gentleman. The Greek was soothed by permission to appoint his son-in-law, Aristagoras, as ruler of Miletus in his absence.

There now followed a few years of calm until a mere spark, struck from the rocks of Naxos, fired a universal conflagration. This island, in B. C. 502, was the scene of a popular insurrection by which the oligarchical party was overthrown and exiled. The leaders went to Miletus and applied to Aristagoras for help. The latter readily consented, but feeling himself unable to take up the enterprise alone, he sent to Artaphernes, the Persian satrap of Lydia, to furnish the means of restoring the oligarchs, assuring him that by good management the limits of the Empire might thus be stretched across the Cyclades and made to include even the large island of Eubœa, lying in sight of the mainland of Greece.

The very flattering overture was eagerly caught by the Persian. A fleet of two hundred ships was equipped and the command given to Aristagoras. A large land force, commanded by Megabates, was put on board with the exiled oligarchs, and the expedition weighed anchor for Naxos. At Chios the fleet made a brief pause, and here the commanders quarreled. Megabates was so enraged at the conduct of Aristagoras that he sent a message to the Naxians and warned them of their danger. The latter immediately put their city in a state of defense; and after a four months' siege, the forces of Aristagoras were obliged to withdraw in disgrace. The commander, on reaching Miletus, found himself in a condition so critical that he meditated an abandonment of the Persian cause and a revolt of the Greek cities as the best means of saving himself from ruin. At this juncture a message came from Histiæus urging the very course which Aristagoras was on the eve of adopting. So the latter at once called together the magistrates of the city, explained his purposes, resigned his authority, and suggested that the other Greek cities should be at once advised to throw off their despots and the Persian yoke with them. This popular impulse rolled like a wave down the coast of Asia Minor. Every city became inflamed with the hope of freedom, and in B. C. 501 a general declaration of independence of Persia was adopted.

The Asiatic Greeks were wise enough to know that they had undertaken a contract which must be rendered valid by an indorsement of blood. Aristagoras at once repaired to European Greece to solicit alliances. Going first to Sparta, he laid the great cause before Cleomenes, but the latter could not be induced either by patriotic considerations or by bribes to undertake the cause of the revolted cities. In Athens, however, Aristagoras met with a different reception. Here he found an abundance of sympathy, and the assembly promptly voted an armament of twenty ships to aid the cause of the Ionians.[1] The city of Eretria furnished five ships, and the fleet repaired to Asia Minor. In the following spring Aristagoras, thus reënforced, began a march into the interior of Lydia. Sardis was taken and burned by a handful of Greeks, mostly Athenians; but to maintain themselves in so distant a part was impossible. A hasty retreat from the scene of their audacity was all that remained for them to do. They were followed by the avenging Persians, and before they could reach the cities on the coast were severely punished for their daring deed of invasion.

When the news was carried to Darius in his palace at Susa, he gave way to rage. He called for his bow and shot an arrow high in air, and called on the gods to give him vengeance. He had never heard of the Athenians and made inquiry who they were. He

[1] This is the act which is declared by Herodotus to have been the "beginning of mischief between the Greeks and the barbarians."

commanded an attendant to call out to him three times a day, "Lord, remember the Athenians!"

It soon became apparent that the Asiatic Greek towns could not maintain themselves in the unequal struggle. The Phœnicians furnished the Persians with fleets. The revolt in Cyprus was soon suppressed. The Ionian cities fell one after another. Aristagoras abandoned the cause and was killed in Thrace. In the meantime the crafty Histiæus persuaded Darius to send *him* into Ionia to help the Persian generals. Artaphernes, however, was not deceived, and openly accused the Greek of having made a shoe for Aristagoras to wear. Histiæus, however, escaped to the island of Chios and offered his services to the Greeks; but all were suspicious of him. Finding himself an object of universal distrust he turned pirate, and sailed with eight Lesbian galleys towards Byzantium. He preyed on whatever he could find on land and sea until finally he was overtaken on the coast of Mysia. Being carried to Sardis, Artaphernes had him crucified and his head sent to Darius. The Great King seeing the pallid visage of the man who had once saved his life, showed his own humanity by having the bloody trophy honorably buried.

Several of the Greek cities still held out against the Persians. Chief of these was Miletus, which was besieged by a large army, as well as on the side of the Ægean by a Phœnician fleet. The Greeks knowing themselves to be strongest as sailors gathered their forces from the various towns and embarked them on ships. Their armament numbered three hundred and fifty-three vessels while that of the Persians counted six hundred sail. But the latter were wary of their antagonists and stood off from battle. The Greek fleet lay by the shore at Sade, near Miletus. The exiled despots, now on board of the Persian ships, knowing the rivalries and dissensions existing among the Greeks, became the secret agents of overtures made to them for peace on terms advantageous to all who would sail away and return to their allegiance. At first these overtures were refused by all; but when the Samians saw the jealousies and contentions which prevailed to the extent of destroying all discipline, they renewed the negotiations and agreed to withdraw in case of a battle.

The Persian fleet now no longer forbore to attack, and when the fight began the Samians, according to promise, sailed out of line and bore away. They were followed first by the Lesbians and then by others until the hundred brave ships of Chios were left to contend alone. These were soon overpowered and destroyed. Miletus was soon afterwards taken, and resistance to Persian authority was at an end. Those who had been engaged in the revolt were treated with the utmost severity. Some were put to death, some sold into slavery, and some deported into foreign parts. The cities declined in wealth and population. A new survey of the country was made and a tribute assessed upon each of the districts for the benefit of the Persian treasury.

Shortly after the suppression of the Ionian revolt, the Persian king sent his son-in-law, Mardonius, to succeed Artaphernes as satrap of Lydia. His government included the provinces recently in insurrection. To him Darius gave a large armament, with instructions to seize and take to Susa those Athenians and Eretrians who had assisted in the Ionian rebellion. Mardonius, in B. C. 492, set out on this mission. He had a strong land force and a large fleet. He proceeded down the coast of Thrace and Macedonia, and ordered his ships to join him below Mount Athos. But while doubling this dangerous promontory a storm arose, which destroyed three hundred vessels and twenty thousand men. Soon afterwards Mardonius was himself defeated by the Brygians, a race of white Thracians, who slaughtered a large part of his army. He was glad to make his way back into Asia, covered with disgrace.

Darius now determined to undertake the conquest of Greece in person. In order to ascertain the temper of the Hellenic states he sent heralds to each, demanding earth and water. All complied except Sparta and Athens. The authorities of the former city threw the messenger of the Great King into a well, and the Athenians cast the herald into

a pit and bade him take his earth and water from there. At this time Athens was at war with Ægina. The Æginetans were of those who sent tokens of submission to Darius. The Athenians now called upon Sparta as the leading Grecian state to punish the people of Ægina for deserting the cause of the country. Cleomenes, the Spartan king, readily took up the cause, and, proceeding against the Æginetans, seized ten of the leaders and gave them to the Athenians as hostages.

Meanwhile, in the spring of B. C. 490, the preparations of the Persians being complete, Darius began his invasion of European Greece. A vast army was assembled in Cilicia. The fleet which was to accompany the expedition numbered six hundred galleys, besides the transports. The command was given to the Median Datis and Artaphernes, a son of the former satrap of Lydia of that name. Their instructions were to conquer all the Greek states that had not already made their submission, and to take special vengeance on Athens and Eretria by burning them to the ground and selling the inhabitants into slavery. Manacles were prepared and sent to the commanders, with which the Greeks were to be bound and led into captivity. The dreams of the Persian were not troubled by any specter prophesying failure.

The expedition of Datis and Artaphernes, departing from the coast of Asia Minor, proceeded across the Ægean by way of the Cyclades. Naxos was taken and its principal city reduced to ashes. All the other islands submitted, nor did the Persians meet any opposition until they came to Eubœa. Eretria bravely defended herself for six days, and was then taken through the treachery of two citizens, who opened the gates. The city was burnt, and the principal inhabitants put into chains, according to the command of the king. It only remained for Datis to cross the strait and do likewise to Athens and her impertinent democracy.

Here was the rub. For the Athenians had prepared for the crisis such means of resistance as seemed most likely to stay the deluge. According to the custom, ten generals had been chosen to command the army. Of these the men of greatest ability were Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides. The first was the same previously mentioned as that despot of the Thracian Chersonesus, who advised the destruction of the bridge of the Hellespont in order to secure the destruction of Darius. In the struggle of the Persians and the Ionian cities Miltiades had taken the side of his countrymen, and had captured Lemnos and Imbros from the enemy. After the revolt of the Greek cities had been suppressed he fled to Athens for safety.

As soon as the Athenians heard of the destruction of Eretria they sent a courier to Sparta imploring assistance.[1] The Spartans returned a favorable answer, but the moon was now near her full, and they could lend no aid until after the change! Such was their custom. The Athenians took their station at Marathon and awaited the onset. Five of the generals desired to delay until after the arrival of the Spartans, but the other five wished to fight at once while the spirit of the people was up to the point of battle. Finally the polemarch, Callimachus, who, retained by the old statutes of the oligarchy, now constituted the eleventh officer, gave his vote for an immediate engagement, and it was agreed by all that Miltiades should have supreme command until the issue of the conflict should be determined.

At this critical moment a thousand Bœotians from the little town of Platæa arrived as a voluntary reënforcement of their countrymen. Miltiades could now muster ten thousand men of heavy armor, besides a few light-armed troops, who were not of much moment in battle. The Persian army numbered one hundred and ten thousand.

The plain of MARATHON lies on the coast, at the distance of twenty-two miles from Athens. It is a tract semicircular in shape, defined at each extreme by a promontory reaching into the sea. Between these two head-lands the plain stretches along the shore, a distance of six miles. Its greatest breadth

[1] The messenger who carried the petition of Athens to Sparta on this occasion was Phidippides. He is said to have run the whole distance of a hundred and fifty miles in forty-eight hours!

from the sea to the mountains is, near the center, about two miles. The Persians were arranged along the shore, and the Greeks stood on the opposite side of the plain about the middle, backed by the hills. Seeing the impossibility of giving strength to so long a line with so small a force, Miltiades massed a run. They traversed the mile of intervening space and fell like two thunder-clouds on the astonished foe. The battle raged furiously. Both wings of the Greeks drove the enemy before them, but the center, being weak, was in turn broken through by the Persians. As soon, however, as Miltiades perceived himself

BATTLE OF MARATHON.

his troops in the two wings. He gave command of the right to Callimachus, and placed the contingent of Platæans on the left. Thus at last the Hellenes stood face to face with the Medes and Persians, long regarded as the invincible soldiery of the East.

Miltiades, anxious for battle, gave the order for the onset. The Greeks advanced on victorious on the flanks, he recalled his wings and fell upon the Persian center. Here were the best troops of Datis's army. It was already late in the afternoon. The sun looking over the hills of Greece flashed his full beams in the face of her foes. After a sharp resistance they broke and fled under such onsets as they had never felt before. They were

pursued to the beach, where their ships saved them from annihilation. As it was, six thousand four hundred of their soldiers lay dead on the field. The Athenians attempted to fire the fleet, but only succeeded in destroying seven vessels. The rest made their escape, carrying the Persians with them. The Athenian loss was one hundred and ninety-two men, but among these was the brave polemarch Callimachus, who here gave his life for the freedom of his country.[1]

Just at the close of the battle a bright but traitorous shield was seen raised aloft on a distant mountain in the direction of Athens. It was a signal for the Persian fleet to sail thitherward and take the city before the soldiers of Miltiades could return to her defense. It was noticed, moreover, by the Greeks that the vanishing armament departed in the direction of Cape Sunium. Accordingly, Miltiades marched with all haste towards the city. His conjectures were correct; for just as he arrived the Persian fleet hove in sight. But when the army of Datis, about to debark, saw before them the same dusty heroes from whom they had so recently fled at Marathon, they could not be induced to land. They turned their prows instead to the shores of Asia Minor, and the Ægean soon rolled between Athens and her peril.

Marathon was to the Greek what Bunker Hill is to the American. After the battle the Athenians gave themselves up to raptures. The day became historic. Poetry brought her magic song and imagination her legends to add to and hallow the remembrance of a deed so great. It was said that Theseus reäppeared in the battle. At night ever afterwards, the old heroes of Athens marshaled their hosts in the clouds, and the noise of invisible warriors shouting to the charge, the uproar of chariots and horses, and the moans of dying spirits, could be heard above that haunted, glorious field.

Miltiades became the hero of the day. No mark of honor or gratitude was omitted. Besides the great tumulus or mound which public patriotism and affection reared over the one hundred and ninety-two immortals who fell at Marathon, a separate monument was erected on the field to the memory of Miltiades. His influence became unbounded; but he seems to have belonged, after all, to that type of heroes who are able to bear adversity better than success. The memory of an old resentment rose within him, and forgetting his greatness, he asked the Athenians to give him an armament of seventy sail without explaining his intentions. When the fleet was voted, he sailed away to the island of Paros and attacked the capital city; for against a leading citizen of that place he harbored a grudge of many years. But the Parians defended themselves with such vigor that Miltiades was about to despair of success when a priestess in the temple of Demeter promised him success if he would visit the temple by night. In attempting to do so he wounded himself on the wall, and was barely able to reach his ship. In this miserable condition he was obliged to return to Athens. He could give no honorable account of himself or of the use which he had made of his country's fleet. Charges were preferred against him, and he was brought in with his gangrened wound and laid before the judges. It was asked that he be condemned to death, but such a sentence could not be obtained against the hero of Marathon. He was severely punished by a fine of fifty talents, but before the sum could be raised he died of his injury.

The next important event in the career of Athens was her war with Ægina. For a long time there had been between the city and this island a feeling of suppressed hostility. In B. C. 506 the Æginetans had given aid to the Thebans in a strife with the Athenians, and had even invaded the territory of Attica with-

[1] It is not wonderful that the genius of Byron, on viewing Marathon, broke forth in an unusual strain:

"The battle-field where Persia's victim horde
First bowed beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword,
As on the morn to distant glory dear,
When MARATHON became a magic word,
Which uttered, to the hearer's eye appear
The camp, the host, the fight, the conqueror's career—

The flying Mede, his shaftless, broken bow;
The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear;
Mountains above, earth's, ocean's plain below,
Death in the front, destruction in the rear!"

out a declaration of war. These acts were laid to heart by the city; and when Ægina made haste to abandon the Greek cause by sending earth and water to the Persian king, the feeling of resentment against her was greatly increased. It will be recalled that Cleomenes, one of the Spartan kings, had, on account of this act of the Æginetans, and at the instigation of Athens, gone to the island and inflicted a severe punishment. After the battle of Marathon the authorities of Ægina demanded back the hostages which they had been compelled to give to the Athenians, and the refusal of the latter to do so led to a declaration of war. Hostilities were vigorously waged on both sides, but the conflict had not long continued until Athens discovered the great disadvantage at which she was placed by having no navy. It was clearly impossible to carry on a successful war at sea, or with a country lying in or beyond the sea, without the employment of a fleet. The little island of Ægina was able, in the present condition of affairs, to look across the Saronic gulf and laugh at Attica. Moreover, it was seen by the wise, and especially by THEMISTOCLES, who had now become the political leader of the Athenians, that it was only a question of time when the Persian king would renew, on a still more formidable scale, the attempt against Grecian freedom. The prudent statesmen of the city discerned in this remote danger far greater ground of apprehension than in the petty imbroglio with the Æginetans.

So Themistocles introduced in the assembly that important measure by which the whole current of Athenian history was changed—the proposition to build a large fleet for the protection of the state. It was fortunate that the treasury of Athens was now in a condition to warrant the proposed action. The silver mines of Laurium had recently yielded so largely that a surplus was at the disposal of the city, and a proposition was actually pending at the time to distribute the same among the citizens. Themistocles took advantage of all these facts in the advocacy of his measure, and had the good fortune to secure its passage. It was ordered that a fleet of two hundred vessels be at once built and equipped at public expense, and to this was added another clause that hereafter twenty ships should be annually added to the navy.

Thus was Greece made ready for the coming storm. For Darius was nursing his wrath for a final explosion. In the interval between the battles of Marathon and Salamis—a period of ten years—the public affairs of Athens were directed by Themistocles and ARISTIDES, two of the greatest Greeks. The first owed his preëminence to talent and policy; the second, to integrity. In the adaptation of means to ends and in that far-sighted discernment by which the plans of men and states are penetrated and laid bare, the palm must be awarded to Themistocles; but in soundness of moral perception and undeviating conformity to the right as the best means of reaching the desired object, Aristides stands first among the Greeks, if not among all the statesmen of antiquity. He was named the JUST, and posterity has not challenged the title.

Such was the then condition of Athenian society that these two eminent men were brought into constant antagonism. Themistocles was the progressive and Aristides the conservative leader. They broke heavy lances over the question of building the fleet. Aristides held that to do so was to change the habits of the people to the injury of the state. He urged that the heavy armed soldiers were a better protection *in Greece* than any number of ships, and that *out of Greece* the Athenians had no business to be engaged in war. But the logic of events was against him. Not only did the arguments of Themistocles prevail with the assembly and senate, but the public voice was so strongly against Aristides that the ostracism was turned to his downfall and he was sent into exile. This act of the Athenians left Themistocles without a rival, and in this attitude of leader he stood in the hour of the most tremendous crisis that Greece had ever witnessed.

For Darius had not forgotten Athens. How he spent years in preparing the avalanche which was to fall upon and overwhelm the impudent cities of European Greece; how the Great King, when his preparations were

well-nigh completed, was surprised and detained by a revolt in Egypt, and how ere this was suppressed he suddenly died—has been narrated in the preceding pages.[1] And how Xerxes, inheriting his father's hatred of the Greeks, coming to the throne in the full flush of early manhood, and receiving the vast array of men and ships already marshaled and equipped by Darius, determined to prosecute the great scheme of Grecian subjection, has been recounted in the same connection.

To make sure of an easy and expeditious advance Xerxes sent forward his builders to construct a bridge of boats across the Hellespont, and his diggers to cut off the neck of Mount Athos. By the one structure he would make his way with dignity from Asia into Europe, and by the other work would secure a safe passage for his fleet from the Strymonic into the Singitic gulf. The construction of the great bridge and the dramatic passage of the Hellespont by the countless hosts of the Persians have been heretofore described in the History of Persia, and need not be here recounted.

After he had traversed for some distance the coast line of Thrace the king paused in the plain of Doriscus to number his forces. The enumeration and method of making it have already been given in Book Sixth, to which the reader is referred once for all for an account of the Persian progress from Sardis to Thermopylæ.[2]

The fleet kept in close relation with the land force as far as the canal which had been cut by the king's command, but after making the passage was ordered to double the two remaining promontories of Sithonia and Pallene and rejoin the army at the city of Therma, now Thessalonica, on the coast of Macedonia. After passing Olympus, Xerxes entered a country not hitherto subdued to his authority, and from this point the invasion proper began.

The Greeks, meanwhile, were on the alert to repel as well as they might the terrible host which was rolling down upon them. A congress of the states was called to meet at Corinth, with a view to uniting the whole race in an effort to save their native land from destruction; but the meeting was unsuccessful. To most of the cities it seemed preposterous to attempt to resist the Persians. Many sent earth and water. Only a few would attend the congress. Some of these opposed defensive measures and withdrew. The whole brunt of protecting the Hellenic world against the barbarians fell on Sparta and Athens. In all Central Greece only the Athenians and Phocians and the people of the two small towns of Platæa and Thespia in Bœotia stood firm for the defense of native land. Such states as Thebes, with its grudge against Athens, and Argolis, with its deep-seated antipathy to Sparta, witnessed the approach of Xerxes with indifference, if not with pleasure. Neither the distant states nor the colonies sent any aid to those who had determined for the sake of Greece to throw themselves across the path of the invader.

The Athenians in this emergency behaved with great magnanimity. They effected a reconciliation with the people of Ægina, and thus gained the coöperation of their fleet. They conceded to the Spartans the supreme command in the approaching conflict. Themistocles, both in the congress and the field, waived his claims in favor of his allies. The two states bound themselves in a solemn covenant to resist to the death, and it was agreed that in case of success one-tenth of the property of every Greek city that had refused to support the national cause should be consecrated to the Delphian Apollo.

All preparations being completed, it was determined to meet the enemy in the pass of THERMOPYLÆ. Where Mount Œta comes down to the sea, pressing for the distance of a mile the morass along the margin of the Malian Gulf, and barely leaving space at the entrance and exit for the passage of a wagon road, lay the defile through which the Persian host must pour into Central Greece. The place was defensible in the highest degree. The narrow strait of Eubœa, lying between the island of that name and the mainland, could easily be blockaded by an inferior fleet, and the enemy be thus prevented from carrying troops to the southern extremity of the pass. It was thus provided by nature

[1] See Book Sixth, p. 362. [2] Ibid. pp. 363, 364.

that a small but resolute band of men might be able to stand for an indefinite time in the face of an overwhelming foe.

The fleet of the allies, under command of the Spartan EURYBIADES, now sailed to the north of Eubœa and took its station off Cape Artemesium. At the same time a small body of troops was sent to occupy the pass of Thermopylæ. It was the eve of the celebration of the Olympic games, and the people of Sparta, with that strange *nonchalance* for which the race is noted, preferred to attend to the festival first and the Persians afterwards. It was believed that the handful of men already advanced to Thermopylæ could hold the pass until, the games being over, the main body should arrive for their support.

The advance which was thus sent forward to keep Asia at bay for a week consisted of three hundred Spartans, three thousand heavy-armed troops from the other states of Peloponnesus, seven hundred Thespians, four hundred Thebans, one thousand Phocians, and about the same number of Locrians. With this force of nearly seven thousand men, LEONIDAS, the young king of Sparta, who had been placed in command with the simple order to defend Thermopylæ against the Persians, took possession of the pass and awaited the onset. Having ascertained from the Phocians that there was a route over the mountains by which it was practicable for the enemy to make his way into Central Greece, he placed the Phocian contingent on the heights with orders to thwart any such movement should it be begun.

With the approach of the Persians there was much trepidation among the Peloponnesian troops, and many desired to retreat to the isthmus of Corinth, and there make a stand at the doorway of Southern Greece; but the influence of Leonidas prevailed over such unpatriotic fears, and the battle began at the upper end of the pass. Here, when the Persians came in sight, they beheld a few Spartans running and leaping as if in sport, while others were combing their long hair as though preparing for a festival. Demaratus, the exiled Spartan king, who accompanied Xerxes on the expedition, explained to the monarch that this conduct on the part of his countrymen meant that they were devoting themselves to death, and that nothing might be expected except resistance as long as one man was left alive.

Not able to appreciate such strange conduct, Xerxes tarried four days, believing that the absurd project of defense would be abandoned and that the Spartans would disperse. At the end of that time he sent a demand to Leonidas to give up his arms. The true Laconic reply was, "Come and take them." When the Spartan was told that the Persians were so numerous that a discharge of their darts would cloud the sky, he answered, "That is good; we shall fight in the shade!"

On the fifth day a band of Medes was sent forward to clear the pass. They were killed. Others were sent forward, and were killed. Xerxes leaped up in rage and agony from the seat which had been prepared for him from which to witness the battle. The Immortals were ordered to the charge, and were cut to pieces. On the second day the scene was renewed. Heap after heap of Persian slain was piled at the upper entrance to the pass. The darts of the barbarians fell harmless on the bronze shields of the Spartans. The rage of the baffled king knew no bounds, but just as he was about to despair of forcing his way through, the secret mountain-path was revealed to him by a traitorous Malian, and he at once ordered his generals to begin an advance by that route. A large detachment, led by the informant, set out at nightfall. The Phocians who had been appointed to guard the path were alarmed at the unexpected approach and retired to the heights. The passage of the Persians to the rear of Leonidas was thus unopposed.

The Spartan called a council of war, and there was much division of opinion. The greater number favored a retreat while it was yet possible. The privilege of taking this step was freely conceded by Leonidas, but as for him and his Spartans there was but one course to pursue. The laws and customs of their country did not permit them to abandon a post which had been committed to their charge. The order of the king was specific he was to defend the pass. That he would do

Death was nothing. The seven hundred Thespians resolved to share the fate of such a leader and his men. The four hundred Thebans who had been obliged to join the expedition rather as hostages than as soldiers were detained to face an unwilling death. The remainder retired from the pass and escaped.

As soon as Xerxes supposed that the detachment sent over the mountains had reached the southern entrance to the pass, he ordered a renewal of the attack. Leonidas and his comrades now advanced into the open space and fought like lions. Every man became a hero, and before each one was a heap of Persian dead. By and by, as the Persian hosts were thrust forward by those in the rear, the heroic ranks began to thin. Their lances were broken, and they were obliged to take their swords. They were beaten back inch by inch. Every man kept his face to the foe. They retired within the pass and gained possession of a hillock, where they huddled to die together. The Thebans begged for quarter, and explained that they fought against their will. They were spared. Around the remnant on all sides the Persians closed rank on rank. It was the ever-narrowing circle of doom. Javelins were showered in their faces by thousands. Man by man they sank and perished. Not one remained alive from the glorious sacrifice. Persia had another taste of Hellas.

On the hillock where the heroes died a marble lion was set up in honor of Leonidas—fit emblem of his valor. The inscription said: "Four thousand Poloponnesians here fought with three millions of the foe." Another couplet, intended for the Spartans, ran thus:

> "Go, tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
> That here obedient to their laws we lie."

In the meantime, the Greek fleet under Eurybiades had had a terrible battle with the Persian armament at Artemesium. Before the engagement, however, a great storm driving shoreward had struck the enemy's fleet while anchored at Aphetæ and wrecked no fewer than four hundred ships. Still, they were so much superior to the Greeks in numbers—the latter having but two hundred and seventy-one vessels—that it was with difficulty that Eurybiades and Themistocles induced their captains to hazard battle. As a precautionary measure they withheld the attack until nearly nightfall, so that in case of disaster they might have the advantage of darkness. But the onset of the Greek ships was successful, and when night fell the advantage lay with the allied fleet. Nevertheless, so great was the apprehension of the sailors that the use of Eubœan gold in the hands of Themistocles was that night necessary to keep the armament steady for the work of the morrow.

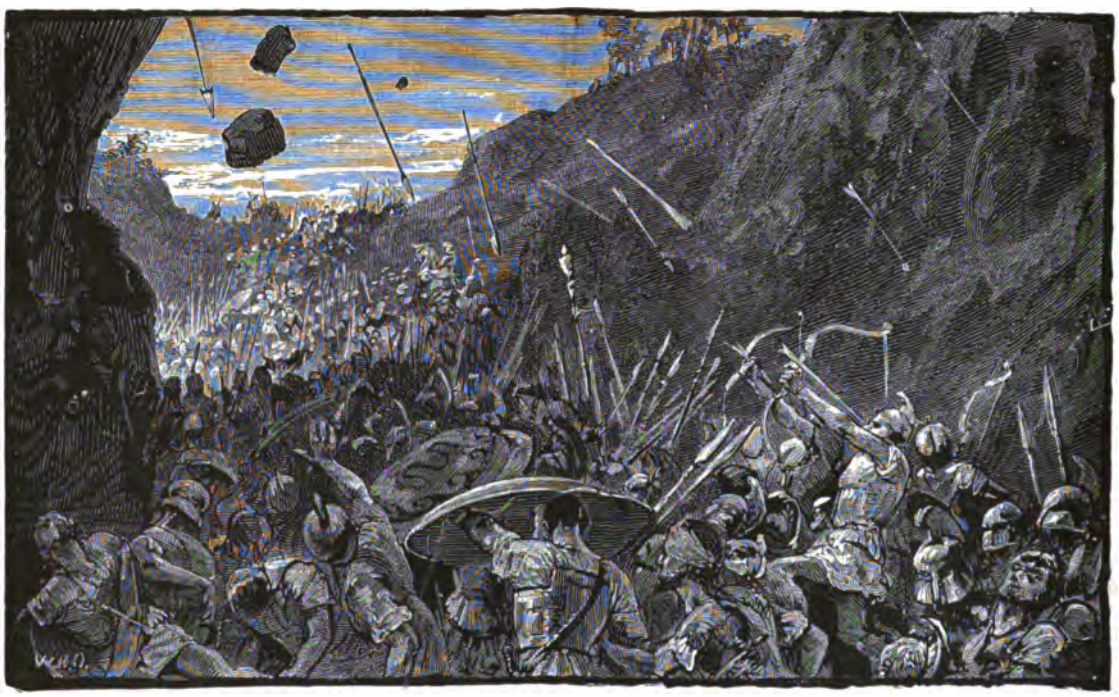
During the night, however, another violent storm arose and wrought such fearful havoc with the Persian fleet—at the same time injuring the Greeks but little on account of their sheltered position—that in the morning the enemy declined battle. In the course of the day a squadron of fifty-three additional ships from Athens arrived as a reënforcement, and the spirits of the Greeks, fired by good omens and encouraged by home support, rose to a pitch of enthusiasm flaming for the fight. On the following day the Persian fleet formed a semicircle and bore down for battle. The Greeks, in order not to be surrounded, supported themselves by the shore. Through the whole day the conflict raged furiously. The Persians did not surrender the mastery of the world without a struggle worthy of a better cause. Their overwhelming force of ships and sailors gave them the advantage even against the superior valor of the Greeks. At nigthfall the Persians had lost most ships, but the allied fleet had suffered so greatly that it was deemed prudent not to continue the fight. At this juncture, moreover, news arrived of the fall of Leonidas, and it was at once resolved to withdraw from the Eubœan coast for the defense of Attica. So, during the night after the battle, the fleet fell back through the strait, doubled Cape Sunium, and anchored at SALAMIS.

Notwithstanding the enormous losses which had been inflicted on the Persians, they were steadily bearing down for the accomplishment of their object. Attica lay open to invasion The fatal folly of the Spartans in neglecting

to send their whole force to the north to stay the Persian advance at Thermopylæ was now bearing its disastrous fruit in the exposure of Southern as well as Central Greece. Several cities hitherto wavering now went over openly to the enemy. Xerxes was only six days' march from Athens. Themistocles urged the people to gather together their effects and abandon the city. The advice was accepted with reluctance; but the Delphic oracle added its voice to the persuasion of the Athenian leaders. The Sacred Serpent kept

money. The Areopagus voted funds to repair the fleet and to support the emigrant population.

On his way down from Thessaly Xerxes ravaged the country. Phocis was severely punished for her refusal to submit. Her deserted towns were destroyed and her people driven to the hills. The patriotic cities of Thespiæ and Platæa were plundered and burned. At Delphi occurred an extraordinary episode. Apollo, by his oracle, forbade the removal of the treasures of his temple.



DISCOMFITURE OF THE PERSIANS AT DELPHI.

in the temple of Athene Polias, on the Acropolis, left the altar and escaped. So the terrified people were induced to follow. Some went to Ægina, others to Trœzen, many to Salamis.

The Delphic oracle had said that a "wooden wall" should protect the Athenians. Albeit, a wooden wall might mean the fleet. So the oracle was interpreted by Themistocles. Others said it meant the walls of Athens. Not all of the people would leave their homes. For once dissension ceased. On the proposition of Themistocles all sentences of banishment were revoked. The rich gave their

On came the Persians to lay sacrilegious hands on the accumulated gifts of centuries of devotion. They began defiling through one of the gorges at the foot of Mount Parnassus, making their way towards the temple. Of a sudden there were peals of thunder overhead. Great crags were loosened from their places and rolled down upon the terrified ranks of the barbarians. The gods had espoused the cause of the Greeks. Spectral warriors of gigantic stature were seen hovering with revengeful look in the rear of the terror-stricken host as it turned to fly from its profane purpose of plunder.

In Athens a few desperate persons seized the Acropolis and determined to defend it. When Xerxes reached the city he found the stronghold surrounded by wooden walls, but these he soon fired with burning arrows. The hill was presently carried and its defenders slaughtered. The temple and other buildings situated there were sacked and burned. The city was pillaged and given to the flames. The Persian had remembered Athens; but it was noticed that in the space of two days the sacred olive-tree on the Acropolis suddenly thrust forth a green shoot a cubit in length. Athene saw her city in ashes, but spoke by the olive branch the promise that she should arise from her despair and ruin.

Meanwhile, the Persian fleet, re-collecting its energies after the dubious victory of Artemesium, sailed into the bay of Phalerum. There were still more than a thousand ships spared from the vengeance of the sea and the prowess of the Greeks. In opposition to this immense squadron the allies could number but three hundred and sixty-six vessels, of which two hundred were Athenian galleys, and the rest from the confederate states. As soon as Xerxes reached the coast he inspected his fleet and held a council of war. It was determined to make an immediate attack upon the Greek armament and at the same time to send forward the land forces towards Peloponnesus. This decision was reached with great unanimity by the Persian commanders, only Queen Artemesia, of Halicarnassus, opposing the views of the majority.

On the other side there were dissensions among the Greeks. The Peloponnesian commanders were eager to abandon Salamis and sail southward for the protection of their own coasts; but Themistocles with great vehemence urged the necessity of fighting where they were. He showed the great importance of giving battle in the narrow strait where the superior numbers of the Persians would give them but little advantage. Nevertheless, the opposite opinion prevailed and it was voted to retreat.

After the council Themistocles repaired to the ship of Eurybiades, and succeeded in winning him over to the idea of present battle. The commanders were again called together, and after some discussion were ordered by Eurybiades to prepare for action. Later in the night, however, news arrived from Sparta representing the distress of the people on account of the absence of the fleet, and begging for its return. The council was a third time convened, but Themistocles had now determined to accomplish by a stratagem what he could not effect by argument. He despatched a trusted messenger to Xerxes, and informed him that the Greek fleet was about to sail, and advising the Persian to divide his squadron, send one-half around the island to the other extremity of the strait and shut up the Greeks in their present predicament. This advice was acted on by Xerxes; and before the adjournment of the council Aristides, returning from his banishment, reached Salamis, came into the assembly, and informed the body that the Persian fleet now occupied both ends of the strait, and that they must fight or perish. The scheme of Themistocles had succeeded.

With the morning Xerxes had a throne erected on Mount Ægaleos, opposite the bay of Salamis, and from this perch he would view the battle. Necessity had now brought the Greeks to their work, and with ardor they prepared for battle. Themistocles was in his glory. The Greek seamen were early at their posts; nor were the Persians, now under the eye of their king, slow in preparing for battle. At the sound of the trumpet the allied fleet moved forward to the attack. Just about to engage the foe, however, they were seized with alarm and fell back to the beach. But then appeared above the ships a female figure, perhaps the august Athene herself, and waved them to the attack. The Athenian vessels thereupon bravely made the onset, followed by the rest, nor was there any further wavering. All day long the fight continued. The Persian fleet became more and more confused in the narrow waters, which afforded no room for evolutions. The ships were crowded upon each other and became helpless. The attacks of the Greeks grew constantly more audacious. The fate of their country now depended on the blows which

they dealt upon the barbarians. Every ship that went to the bottom brought a revival of hope, a promise of freedom. As the sun sank low, victory declared for the Greeks. Two hundred of the Persian ships had been destroyed. Many more were captured. The whole bay was covered with the wreck of Asia. As the issue declared itself Xerxes, in the extremity of terror and despair, rose and fled. The residue of the fleet was scattered to the winds.

The episode of the battle of Salamis occured when Artemesia, queen of Caria, who had tried to dissuade the king from risking all in the straits of Salamis, performed prodigies of valor in the fight. "My men are women to-day, and my women men," said Xerxes, as he beheld her bravery. Finally, turning to fly, she struck a galley commanded by one of her own countrymen, and sent both it and the crew to the bottom. The Greek commanders, seeing the deed and believing it to have been purposely done, allowed the queen to escape without pursuit. In the meantime the Persian troops that had been landed on the island were attacked by a body of heavy-armed soldiers led by Aristides, and were destroyed to a man. The victory was complete, and the sun set on one of the most glorious days in Grecian history.[1]

Xerxes, becoming concerned for his personal safety, quitted the country with all haste. There was no need for such a flight; for his army was but little reduced in numbers, and of his fleet there still remained a squadron much larger than that of the Greeks; but the king had enough of that peculiar glory which came of battles with the Greeks, and was eager to leave the land which his father had been so anxious to remember. Pressing forward as rapidly as he could through Bœotia and Thessaly, he came, after a march of forty-five days, to the Hellespont.

BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

[1] Lord Byron's graphic verse on the battle of Salamis should not be omitted:

"A king sate on the rocky brow
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations; all were his!
He counted them at break of day—
And when the sun set where were they?

The guard which had accompanied him were reduced by famine and disease. Here the fleet had been ordered to congregate after the defeat at Salamis. The king found his ships, but the great bridge had been destroyed by the storms. He and his forces were carried to the opposite side, and were safe in Asia. And in the company there were no Athenians wearing fetters!

As soon as the Greek commanders at Salamis saw themselves victorious they began a pursuit of the Persian fleet. This they kept up as far as the island of Andros. The people of many of the Cyclades had sided with the Persians in the recent struggle, and were now made to feel severely the folly of such a course; for Themistocles punished them with little mercy for their defection from the national cause. From Andros onward the Persian armament pursued its course without molestation to the Hellespont, where it received the king and a remnant of his forces, and carried them across to Asia.

Xerxes did not regard his flight from Greece as an abandonment of the purposes for which the expedition was undertaken. Before determining his own course after the battle of Salamis, he held a conference with Mardonius, to whom he intrusted the completion of the conquest of Greece. For this purpose three hundred thousand men were left under his command. Mardonius flattered his master with the assurance that the reverses which he had suffered were but temporary checks to the general progress of subjugation, that one great object of the invasion—the destruction of Athens—had been accomplished, that in the following spring he himself would complete the work, and that Xerxes might now retire from the country without dishonor. This specious theory of the results of the invasion had a soothing effect on the king, who gladly left his son-in-law behind to finish or be finished, and himself speedily returned to the ease of his own capital. His throne in the palace of Susa was an easier seat than that which he had filled for a day on the cliff above Salamis!

While the battle of Salamis was fighting, another conflict was raging between the Greeks of Sicily and the Carthaginians, who had invaded the island. The people of Sicily were like the Greeks of Hellas, divided into two parties. One of these favored the predominance of Carthaginian influence in the island, while the other upheld the national spirit, favoring independence. A certain Terillus, governor of Himera, had been expelled by Theron, the despot of Agrigentum. The deposed ruler and his adherents invited in the Carthaginians, who, in B. C. 480, came three hundred thousand strong under the lead of Hamilcar, and proceeded to besiege Himera. But Gelon, the governor of Syracuse, came to the rescue of the city with an army of fifty-five thousand troops, and with this force—comparatively small as it was—attacked and routed the Carthaginians with a loss, if we may trust Diodorus, of one-half of their army, Hamilcar being among the slain. The Carthaginian fleet was then set on fire and consumed. The victory of the Sicilian Greeks was, if possible, more complete than that which their countrymen were at that hour winning in the bay of Salamis.

With the opening of spring the remnant of the Persian fleet in the Ægean, numbering four hundred vessels, gathered at the island of Samos. At this time the Grecian squadron of one hundred and ten ships lay at Ægina; but, notwithstanding the great disparity in the numerical strength of the two armaments, the Persians made no sign of a disposition to venture a battle. It was their business rather to keep a watch on the Ionian cities, which were again showing signs of insurrection.

Meanwhile, Mardonius began his campaign for the completion of the conquest of the Greek states. His first measures were diplomatic. He consulted the oracles of Bœotia and Phocis, and promulgated the idea of a Perso-Athenian alliance against the Spartans. Alexander, the then king of Macedonia, was sent to the authorities of Athens with flattering overtures. Their city should be restored. Their territory should be extended. The king of Persia would become their friend. Sparta should be humiliated. The first place should be given to Athens. But the seductions of the foe were all in vain. Alexander was dis-

missed with words to the effect that his personal safety would better be consulted before he became the bearer of another such a message to the Athenians. Sparta, however, was anxious, and sent envoys to counteract the dangerous temptations held out by the Persians. To these messengers Athens replied that all that was expected of Sparta was that she should send an army into Attica to help protect the northern frontier against the coming attack of Mardonius. The envoys promised, then went home, and then, with their usual perfidy, pleaded adverse omens as a reason for non-fulfillment.

In May of B. C. 479 Mardonius again advanced into Attica and occupied Athens. The people of the city retired as before to Salamis. From hence they sent a hurried embassy to Sparta, imploring aid against the common foe and intimating (what they never intended) that circumstances might compel them to accept the overtures of the Persians. No answer was returned for the space of ten days, and the Athenians were on the edge of despair, when the aged Chileos in the Spartan council reminded them that if an alliance should be effected between the Athenians and the Persians, the ships of the former might easily bring the whole army of the latter into the heart of Peloponnesus. The Spartans were thrown into the utmost alarm by the suggestion, and a force of ten thousand men, besides a still larger body of Perioeci and Helots, was at once dispatched into Central Greece. The command of this army was given to PAUSANIAS, the Spartan regent for the son of Leonidas.

Mardonius, seeing that diplomacy was useless, destroyed what remained of Athens, and retiring into Bœotia took his station near the little town of PLATÆA. Here he laid off a camp a mile and a-quarter square, and fortified it with barricades. The Spartans, advancing by way of the isthmus, were reënforced by eight thousand Athenians, three thousand Megarians, and six hundred Platæans. The total force gathered for the battle numbered thirty-eight thousand seven hundred heavy-armed soldiers, seventy thousand Helots and other troops of light armor, and one thousand eight hundred Thespians—amounting to about one hundred and ten thousand men.

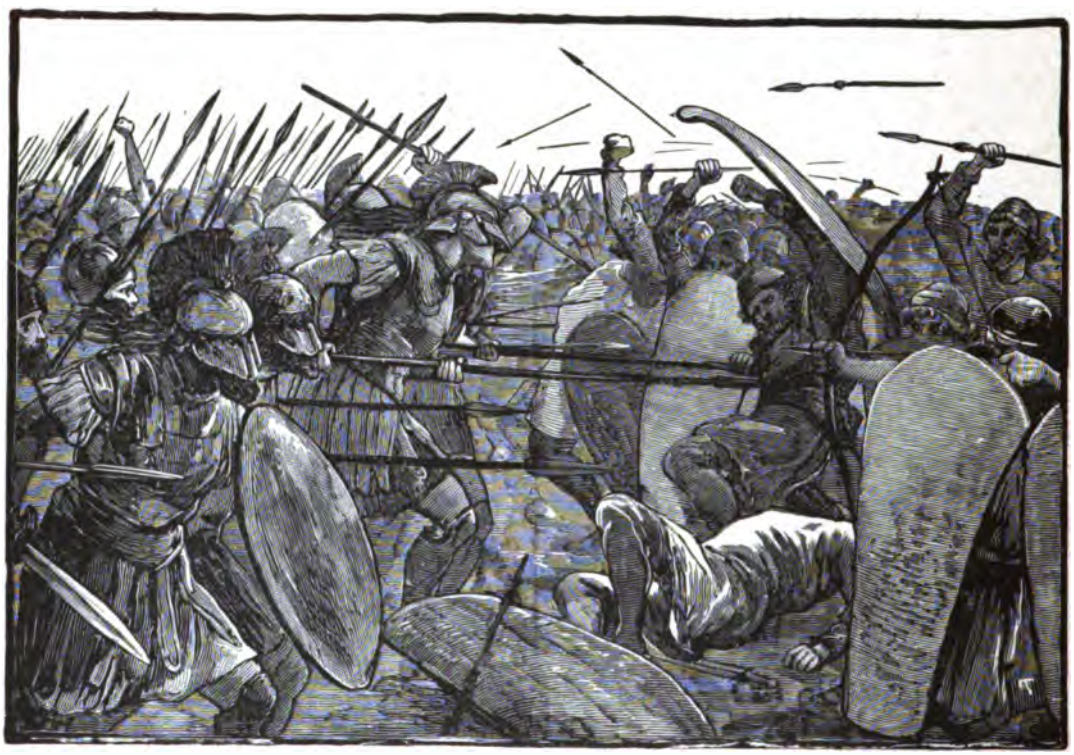
Crossing the range of Cithæron, the Greeks came in sight of their foe drawn up in order of battle. Having no cavalry, Pausanias occupied the rougher grounds and aimed to draw the Persian from the position which gave freedom to his horse. Mardonius ordered a charge against his antagonist, and the same was bravely made. The Greeks suffered not a little from the onset, but were successful in killing Masistius, the commander of the cavalry. They threw his body into a cart and exhibited it along the lines. When the Persians fell back from the onset, Pausanias descended from the heights for a general battle on the grounds chosen by the Persians. The right wing, being the post of honor, was held by the Spartans, and the left by the Athenians. The little river Asopus lay between the two armies. Mardonius, with the best of the Medes and Persians, took his position in the left wing, so as to face Pausanias and his Lacedæmonians, the Persian right, numbering fifty thousand men, being allotted to the Greek allies of the enemy. Then there was a pause. Destiny from one side of the river glared in the face of Fate on the other.

Both armies were reluctant to begin the contest. For eight days each maintained its position, fearing the awful hazard of the onset. Finally, Mardonius succeeded in cutting off the supply train of the Greeks, and captured five hundred of their beasts of burden in defiles of the Cithæron. He was then advised to follow up this policy, and at the same time to try the effect of bribes upon the leaders of the Greeks. But Mardonius rejected the advice and gave the orders for a general attack.

On the following night an incident occurred highly illustrative of the spirit and disposition of the age and people. Alexander of Macedon stole out of the Persian camp in the darkness, rode to the Greek outposts, called for Aristides, and informed him of the impending attack. As an excuse for his treachery, he added: "I am myself a Greek by descent, and with sorrow would I see Hellas enslaved by these Persians."

Aristides at once informed the generals of the Greeks of what might be expected on the morrow, and preparations were made accordingly for the coming battle. Still, with the morning dawn, each army hesitated to make the onset. Finally the Persian cavalry began the fight, and succeeded in cutting off the Greeks from the fountain of Gargaphia, which supplied the camp with water. This was the only important movement of the day.

With the coming of night Pausanias gave orders for the Greeks to fall back a mile and a half to a position which he considered more favorable for the battle. This change of position, however, was not accomplished without considerable confusion and dispute among the officers of the allied army. On seeing the Spartans in full retreat—a sight not often witnessed by a Persian general—Mardonius at once gave orders for pursuit. The Persians dashed across the Asopus, ascended the hill recently occupied by the Greeks, and fell upon the Lacedæmonians, hastily but steadily deployed into line of battle. The onset made but little impression on the Greeks, and as soon as the front line of the Persians had recoiled from the shock, Pausanias gave the order to charge. The fighting became at once general and desperate. The Persians exhibited unusual valor. They flung themselves with reckless courage upon the spears of the Spartans, only to be transfixed by the thousand. The invincible Lacedæmonian phalanx moved forward like an avalanche in its work of destruction. It seemed a huge beast fortified on every side with bristling quills, urging its way now to the right and now to the left, trampling in the bloody dust the mangled bodies of the barbarians. Mardonius attempted in vain to stay the battle. At the head of his body-guard of a thousand men, he fought with conspicuous bravery until he was pierced with a Grecian dart and fell dead from his charger. It was the signal of the rout.



SPARTANS AT PLATÆA.

The Persians, immemorially accustomed to attribute victory and defeat to their leader, broke and fled beyond the Asopus. So rapidly had the work of destruction been accomplished by the allied army that a divi-

sion of forty thousand Persians, commanded by Artabazus, did not reach the field until after the rout. More panic struck, however, than his fellow-generals who had participated in the battle, he broke away without delivering a blow, and fled in the direction of the Hellespont. The allied Greeks, flushed with victory, pursued the main body of the Persians to their fortified camp beyond the Asopus, stormed the barricades, and slaughtered the disorganized barbarian host till the whole area ran with blood. Rarely in the annals of war had such a scene of carnage been witnessed as the infuriated Greeks enacted in this final arena of the great invasion. Such was the fearful destruction that of the three hundred thousand soldiers in the army of Mardonius, only three thousand or four thousand escaped with their lives. The sword of Hellas had pierced the heart of Asiatic pomp and the huge carcass of despotism was stretched upon the plain of Platæa, never to rise again.

Ten days were consumed in dividing the spoils of the battle. The body of Mardonius was decently buried by Pausanias. The sword and silver-footed throne of the Persian commander and the breast-plate of Masistius were carried in triumph by the Athenians to Athens and deposited among the trophies of the Acropolis. Immense was the booty gathered from the field and camp. Every thing with which oriental luxury and magnificence could decorate an army was strewn for miles in the dust. Of this one portion was set aside for the Delphic oracle; another share went to the temple of the Olympian Zeus; and still another to the Isthmian Poseidon. Pausanias himself was largely rewarded from the wreck of Asia, and the remaining enormous aggregate of booty was divided among the allied forces in proportion to their numbers.

Of all the Greek cities that had espoused the cause of the Persians, the most conspicuous in her treason to the national cause was Thebes. In the recent battle the Theban contingent had been posted by Mardonius opposite the Athenians, and had fought with desperate valor. To punish them and their city seemed to the allies to be the first duty incumbent after the destruction of the Persian army. Accordingly the Spartans proceeded to ravage the Theban territory and besiege the city. A demand was made upon the authorities that those leaders who had led the people into the unnatural alliance with the Persians should be given up for punishment. When this was refused on the part of the city, the leaders made a voluntary surrender of themselves, expecting that a large ransom would procure their relief. It was a fatal mistake. For no sooner were they in the power of Pausanias than they were sent to Corinth and executed without trial.

On the same day of the battle of Platæa, which completed the wreck of the Persian army, the final destruction of the great fleet was accomplished on the coast of Asia Minor. After transferring across the Hellespont that remnant of the Persian army which accompanied Xerxes on his homeward flight, what remained of the Persian squadron from the havoc of Artemesium and Salamis dropped down the coast and anchored at the headland of Mycalé, near the city of Miletus. Thither they were pursued by the Spartan leader Leotychides; but before his arrival, the Persians, rather than hazard another sea-fight with the victorious Greeks, drew their remaining ships ashore, surrounded them with a rampart, and placed for their defense an army of sixty thousand Persians under command of Tigranes.

The Greeks followed, came to anchor, made a landing, and immediately joined battle. No sooner were the first defenses of the Persians carried by the impetuosity of the attack than they turned and fled. They were hotly pursued into the principal fortification, which was soon carried by the assailants, though not without some desperate fighting. As soon, however, as the Spartan reserve came up and the Ionian Greeks in the army of Tigranes mutinied in the ranks, the victory was completed. Tigranes and Mardontes, the other Persian general, were both killed; the fleet was burned to ashes, and as the coast wind scattered them along the shore and bay, the last fragments of the greatest expedition known in the annals of the ancient world

were tossed into dust and oblivion. The dreams of him who three times daily at his own command was reminded to remember the Athenians, and the proud visions of his son, cherished from the palace of Susa to the Hellespont, and from the Hellespont to Thessaly, had been so completely dissipated that no ambitious imagination of Oriental king or general ever durst again evoke them from the shadows.

CHAPTER XLV.—THE ATHENIAN ASCENDENCY.

NO general of the Greeks ever showed himself less able than Pausanias to bear success with equanimity. After the battle of Platæa, he began at once to display his vanity, his insolence, his disloyalty. He hired Simonides, the poet, to attribute the victory solely to himself; and a like piece of vainglory was manifested in an inscription which he caused to be placed on a tripod at the shrine of Delphi. Still he remained in command of the Spartan army, and conducted a successful campaign against Byzantium. At the capture of this place, several members of the royal household fell into his power. This fact furnished him with an opportunity to open negotiations with the Persian court, involving his own perfidy and treason. He sent privately to Xerxes the members of his family, and at the same time gave it out to his own countrymen that his high-born Persian captives had escaped. Along with this princely present to the Great King, he sent to him a letter to the following effect:—

"Pausanias, the Spartan commander, wishing to oblige thee, sends back these prisoners of war. I am minded, if it please thee, to marry thy daughter and to bring Sparta and the rest of Greece under thy dominion. This I hold myself able to do with the help of thy counsels. If, therefore, the project at all pleases thee, send down some trustworthy man to the coast through whom we may carry on our future correspondence."

This letter, being so full of perfidy, was of precisely the kind to delight a Persian monarch—particularly Xerxes. He immediately responded in a manner highly flattering to Pausanias. The princess was promised to him in marriage; lavish supplies of money were sent forward, and he was urged to prosecute his plans as rapidly as possible, with the assurance that the king of Persia would not be slow in supplying all his needs. It was in the nature of Pausanias to discount his prospects. He began to realize on the possible by assuming the dress and manners of a Persian prince. His command of the fleet was in that style of elaborate flummery peculiar to eastern officers. This thing was from the first exceedingly distasteful to the captains and seamen of the allied fleet. The news reached Sparta, and that sedate commonwealth, shocked at the shameless disloyalty of her officer, immediately dispatched Dorcis to supersede him. But before the arrival of the latter, the captains of the fleet, disgusted with the conduct of Pausanias, had themselves transferred the command from him to the Athenians.

Such, however, was the strict subordination of the Spartans to authority that the larger part of their squadron accompanied the disgraced Pausanias on his return home. This left Dorcis with so few ships at his disposal that he could not resist the transfer of the command to the fleet of Athens, which ever since the battle of Salamis had given to that city a preponderating reputation and influence in the affairs of Greece. This circumstance became the central fact in the Athenian Supremacy. The Ionian cities of Asia Minor and most of the adjacent islands, inhabited as they were by people of the same race with the Athenians, were well pleased with this increase of power on the part of their kinsmen

in European Greece, for they saw in this fact the possible—even the probable—deliverance of themselves from the thralldom of Persia. The leadership of Athens was therefore gladly recognized by all the Ionians, and the sentiment spread until the islands of Rhodes, Cos, Lesbos, and Tenydos, together with the Greek towns on the Chalcidician peninsula, joined in the league, by which was formed, under the patronage of Athens and through the influence of Aristides, the CONFEDERACY OF DELOS. It was agreed that hereafter, in the interests of Greece, deputies from all the states represented in the league should annually assemble at the temple of Apollo and Artemis, in the island of Delos, to discuss questions pertaining to the welfare of the confederation and the honor of the Greek name.

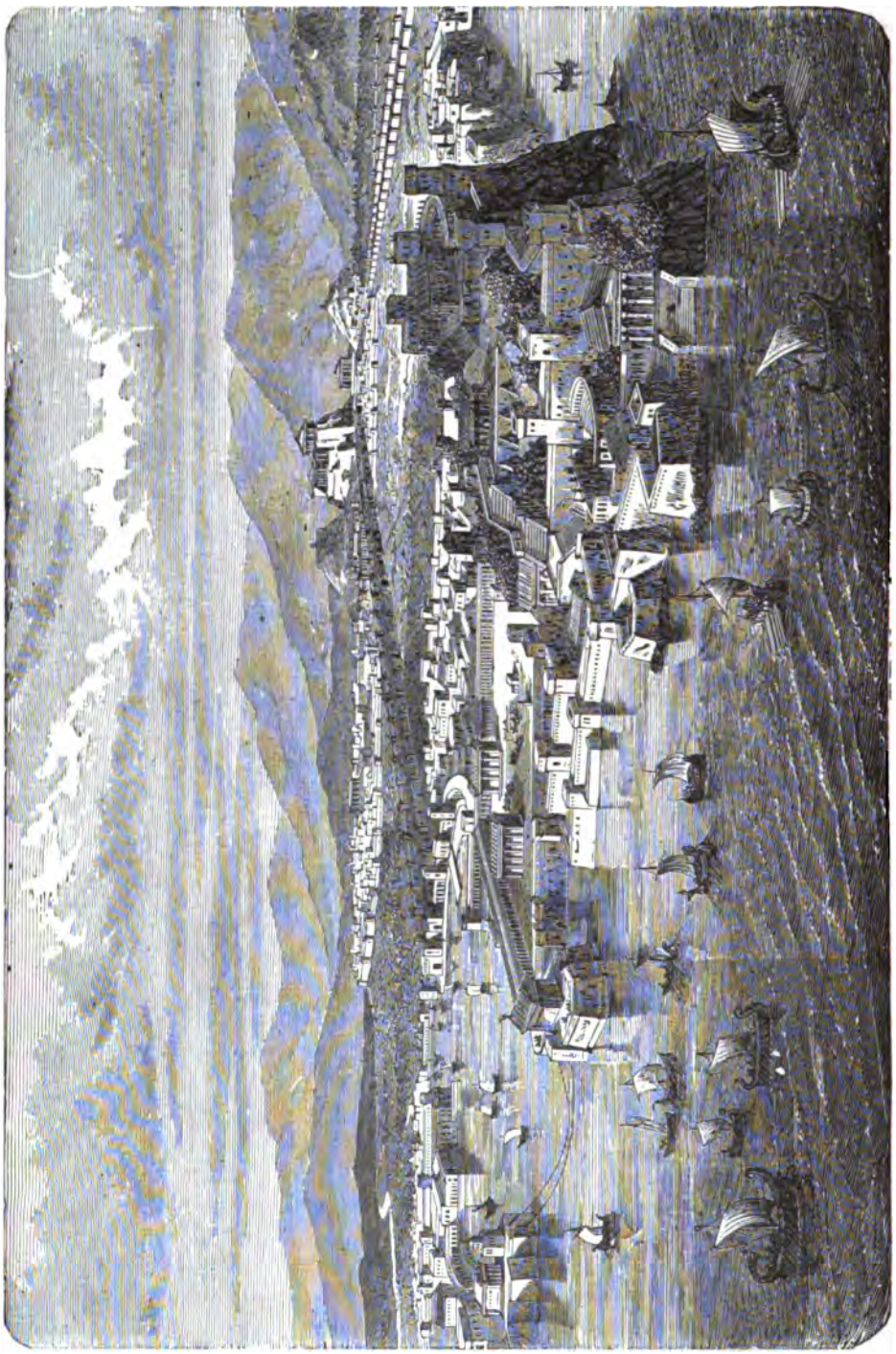
As soon as the league was formed the command of the allied fleet was transferred from Aristides to Cimon. He immediately set out on an expedition against the town of Eion, on the river Strymon. This place was delivered from Persian rule, and in B. C. 470, the island of Scyros was reduced by the fleet and colonized with Athenians. This rapid growth of the power of Athens was hailed by most of the states of Greece as a reward fairly earned by her heroic conduct in the Persian wars. But to Sparta this splendid rise of her rival from the ashes of despair was gall and wormwood. She looked with a lack-luster and jealous eye on the doings of the Confederacy of Delos and the extension of Athenian reputation. Nor were the agencies by which Athens at home, among the extinct cinders of her recent overthrow, had again become so suddenly the pride of Central Greece, more pleasing to the narrow-minded Lacedæmonians who were more stung with the arrows of jealousy than by the darts of the enemy. For this sudden development of reviving energy was traceable most of all to the superhuman energies of two Athenian statesmen, Themistocles and Aristides. To the latter, as already said, was due the formation of the Confederacy of Delos, and to the former the growth and extension of the maritime power of the state.

Meanwhile, the city so recently consumed by Persian wrath was rapidly rebuilding. The houseless fugitives came back from Trœzen, Ægina, and Salamis. The streets were widened and extended. Ambition rose with the occasion. Beauty was consulted; and also safety. For it was determined to surround Athens with walls and fortifications against which the waves of barbarism would hereafter beat in vain. These measures, so natural and necessary, greatly excited the jealousy of the Æginetans, and knowing the disposition of Sparta, they sent to her an embassy earnestly advising the Lacedæmonians to interfere and prevent the completion of the works by which Athens would be rendered independent alike of foreign and domestic animosity. The Spartans would gladly have undertaken this work, but the crafty Themistocles outwitted them in negotiation until what time the fortifications were so well advanced as no longer to require concealment or apology. Themistocles, thus freed from interstate difficulties, devoted himself assiduously to the increase of the navy and development of Athenian commerce. The harbor of Piræus was improved and surrounded with an impregnable wall sixty feet in height. Every exposed part of the peninsula was rendered defensible, and Athens felt secure behind her ramparts.

In this period of rapid recovery political rancor in a great measure subsided. Themistocles and Aristides made common cause in rehabilitating the state. The latter had so far modified his opinions as to accept the democratic tendencies of his countrymen as natural and right. He himself brought forward and secured the passage of a law by which all restrictions were removed from the Thetes or Fourth Estate, and themselves made eligible to the highest offices in the gift of the state.

Thus at last the archonship and also membership in the court of Areopagus were opened to the humblest citizen of the commonwealth. Under the impulse of these progressive measures every enterprise of the Athenians sprang forward with unwonted rapidity and success. The only drawback upon the prosperity of the city and state was

the spirit of party and the untrustworthiness of political leadership. These dangers were



ATHENS VIEWED FROM THE PIRÆUS.

specially manifested in the case of Themistocles. Coming to consider himself infallible, he assumed a carriage unbecoming in an elective officer. He put on pomp. He boasted of what he had done for the state He acquired luxurious habits; and these had to be supported by peculation and corruption in office. When sent out with a squadron to

restore order among the Cyclades by putting down certain irresponsible governors who had usurped authority during the Persian wars, he compounded with several of the petty despots for money.

Meanwhile Cimon and Alcmæon had become the leaders of what remained of the old aristocratic party in Athens. They made no concealment of their preference for the constitution of Sparta over the too democratic institutions of their own city. In this fact was laid the foundation of a Lacedæmonian faction in the heart of Athens; and it was not long in making itself felt, to the injury of the state. It will be remembered that Pausanias had been deposed from the command of the allied fleet at Byzantium on account of his too manifest intrigues with the Persians. The party of Cimon was now instigated from Sparta to prefer the same charge against Themistocles, and he was accordingly accused of being in collusion with the court of Susa. This charge, however, could not be sustained, but the manners and conduct of their leader had become so distasteful to the Athenians that in a short time an appeal was made to the ostracism and Themistocles was banished.

He went first to Argos, where he remained five years. Before the expiration of that time, however, proofs were discovered of his being implicated with Pausanias in a treasonable correspondence with Persia. The Spartan leader after his downfall had returned to the service as a private, had then lived in Asia Minor, had time and again been suspected of disloyalty, had been recalled to Sparta, but not brought to trial on account of the trepidation of the Ephors in the presence of the criminal. By and by Pausanias dispatched a slave to bear a letter to Asia; but the slave remembering that his fellows who had previously gone on such missions had never returned, broke the seal and read how he himself was to be killed as soon as the letter was delivered. He went in terror and gave the missive to the Ephors. The latter thus obtained convincing proofs of the guilt of Pausanias, and were about to arrest him when he fled to the temple of Poseidon. Not daring to drag him from the altar they ordered masons *to build up the doors*, and in this work the mother came and laid the first stone. When the wall was built solid the roof was removed and Pausanias was left to starve to death.

When in the agonies of death, however, his body was carried out lest it should pollute the altar. His correspondence was rifled and letters were found showing that Themistocles was also in the conspiracy to deliver Greece to Persia. Sparta thereupon renewed her demand that the great Athenian should be brought to trial. When about to be arrested, however, Themistocles fled, first to the court of Admetus, king of the Molossians, thence to Asia Minor, and thence to Artaxerxes at Susa. Here he became a resident, in close confidence of the Persian king. By him, after a year, the Greek was sent to Magnesia and given the revenues of that city for support—this with the understanding that the plans now matured for delivering his country to Artaxerxes should be carried out. But in a short time Themistocles died, nor was the suspicion wanting that he killed himself in a fit of despair. Thus in utter disgrace perished the heroes of Platæa and Salamis.

Aristides held out faithful to the end. He died four years after the banishment of Themistocles, and such was his poverty that he was buried at the public expense. Nevertheless he kept until the hour of his death his hold upon the public confidence, and he was at that time archon eponymos of the city. His sterling virtues had served a better purpose in the great issue of life than the brilliant talents of Themistocles or the military genius of Miltiades. His reputation remained untarnished to the last, and the historians of his country have transmitted his spotless fame to an admiring posterity.

By the death of the great leader, CIMON was left in the lead of Athenian politics. Although his antecedents placed him in the ranks of the old oligarchical party, his manners, talents, and address rendered him popular with the masses. He was a citizen of undoubted patriotism, and expended a good part of his revenue in adorning the city. His own house was a public resort, in which every

thing was open and free, even to people of the poorest class. He was, however, a soldier rather than a statesman, and possessed but little taste for literature and art.

During his leadership occurred the revolt of Naxos against the Confederacy of Delos. In B. C. 466, this island renounced the compact and took up arms, but the insurrection was quickly suppressed by Cimon, and the Naxians were obliged to resume their tributary relations to Athens. Soon afterwards the allied squadron sailed to the coast of Asia Minor, and gained at the mouth of the river Eurymedon a great victory over the fleet and army of the Persians. This by means of their naval superiority did the Athenians establish on a still firmer foundation their supremacy over the members of the confederacy.

In the next year after the reduction of Naxos, the government of Athens, then pursuing a policy of colonization, was opposed in making a settlement by the people of Thasos, and this island was subjected to a blockade and siege. Before the same was concluded, the Thasians sent to Sparta and requested that state to make a diversion in their favor by an invasion of Attica. This proposition, base as it was, was about to be accepted by the Lacedæmonians when they were prevented by a series of calamities which brought the state to the lowest ebb of fortune. First came a violent earthquake, which laid the city in ruins and killed twenty thousand of the inhabitants. Hard after this followed a revolt of the Helots, who, believing that Poseidon had shaken down the stronghold of their oppressors, rose with what weapons they could gather and began to kill and burn. They were joined by the Messenians, who, through generations of hatred, awaited an opportunity to be revenged. When the motley crew of insurrectionists were beaten back from Laconia, they shut themselves up in the old fortress of Ithome and were besieged.

The Spartans, having little skill in taking fortified towns, sent for the Athenians to help them, although at this very time they were engaged with the Thasians in a perfidious scheme to invade Attica. Athens responded to the call, and sent down a large force to aid in the reduction of Ithome; but the Spartans, unable to conceal their spleen, soon dismissed them with contempt and carried on the siege alone. The troops had been sent into Messenia through the influence of Cimon, an avowed friend of the Spartans, and their dismissal was so flagrant an insult as to break down Cimon's party and put the conduct of affairs into the hands of the democrats. The latter were now under the leadership of a young man, who, as a politician and statesman, was destined soon to surpass all his predecessors—PERICLES, the orator and scholar.

In the Athenian government, as it was now constituted, the venerable court of Areopagus was the last hold of the old oligarchical party. Its right to exercise a general supervision over the citizens as it respected their manners and vocations was so exceedingly undemocratic as to be borne with extreme impatience by the progressive element in Athenian politics. Even Aristides, strongly conservative as he was, had consented, in obedience to the popular demand, that the membership of the court should no longer be limited to the Eupatridæ, or First Estate; but this concession was not enough, and Pericles succeeded in striking at the foundations of privilege by making the members of the court to be chosen by lot. Other innovations followed, until not only this august body of ancient Greece, but also the Senate of Five Hundred, was reduced to a mere specter of its former self. Finally, the tables of the laws of Solon were brought down from the Acropolis and deposited in the marketplace, as if to say that henceforth the powers of the Athenian commonwealth were to be exercised directly by the people.

These measures—amounting to a revolution—were not accomplished but with an excess of party strife. Ephialtes, the friend of Pericles, by whose efforts the Solonian tablets had been brought down to the marketsquare, was assassinated. Cimon was ostracized for ten years. The oligarchical party went down in ruins, and the leadership of Pericles was firmly established.

The new statesmen belonged to the school of Themistocles. His policy looked to the

extension of the influence of Greece in Europe. Sparta and Spartan institutions he held in undisguised contempt. To weaken by every possible means the influence of the Lacedæmonians was one of his leading political principles. Without hesitation he allied himself freely with Argos and Megara, the traditional enemies of Sparta. By these overt acts the jealousy of Sparta was heated into animosity soon to burst into the flames of war.

In the mean time the allied fleet, under the lead of the Athenians, was successfully extending the dominion of Greece on the sea. While cruising on the coast of Cyprus and Phœnicia, the squadron was, in B. C. 460, called upon by the revolt of Inarus to interfere in the affairs of Egypt. The Greek sailed up the Nile, and bore an active part in the overthrow of Persian authority. For four or five years they conducted a siege of the so-called White Fortress, in which the Persians had shut themselves up. With the coming of Megabyzus and his army, the Athenians were in turn besieged in the island of Prosopitis, and were finally obliged to surrender. Contrary to the stipulated terms, the greater number of the captives were put to death, Inarus himself being crucified. The fleet was mostly destroyed, and fifty additional ships which arrived just after the surrender were also captured and burnt.

During the occurrence of these events, the inhabitants of Ægina, unable longer to restrain their jealousy, induced the Corinthians and Epidaurians to join them, and gave battle to an Athenian squadron near their own island. It was the first act of actual hostility between the Dorian and Ionian races in European Greece. The Athenians were completely victorious, capturing seventy ships from the Æginetans, landing a large force on the shore, and laying siege to their principal city. Sparta meanwhile was unable to interfere on behalf of her friends; for the Helots were still in insurrection, and gave the Lacedæmonians full occupation in their own country. So alarming, however, was the growth of Athens, that even before the siege of Ithome had been brought to a successful issue the Spartan government ordered an army of one thousand five hundred heavy-armed soldiers and ten thousand allies to march into Doris, for the ostensible purpose of aiding that state against the Phocians, but with the real object of checking the progress of Athens in Central Greece. The true purpose, however, was soon discovered, for the Spartans, after having settled to their satisfaction the affairs of Doris and Bœotia, took up a menacing position at Tanagra, on the very borders of Attica. This was more than the Athenians could tamely bear. They marched out with such forces as they could rally for the occasion, and fought a bloody battle with the Spartans, in which, though the results were indecisive, the latter had the advantage. They next crossed over into Attica, and then proceeded homewards, ravaging as they went.

The general effect of this digression was favorable to Athens. Party strife was hushed in the presence of the common danger. Cimon himself on the eve of the recent battle left the place of his banishment, repaired to the Athenian army, and asked permission to fight in the ranks with his countrymen. When this was refused, he set up his armor on the battlefield and exhorted his friends to rally to it and strike home for Athens. Such was the effect of this patriotic conduct that a measure, recalling him from exile, was at once proposed by Pericles and passed by the assembly.

The concord which was thus introduced into the stormy arena of Athenian politics was so marked that the city bounded forward on a new career of prosperity. Within two months after the battle of Tanagra, the Athenians again marched into Bœotia and met the army of that state on the bloody field of Œnophyta. Here under the command of Myronides, they gained a complete and overwhelming victory. Thebes, the capital, and all the other Bœotian towns were taken by the Athenians. The oligarchical government, recently established by the influence of the Spartans, was overthrown, and democracies instituted in their stead. The Athenian army then marched through Phocis and Locris, compelling them also to conform to the new democratic *régime*, which was thus extended

from the gulf of Corinth to the pass of Thermopylæ.

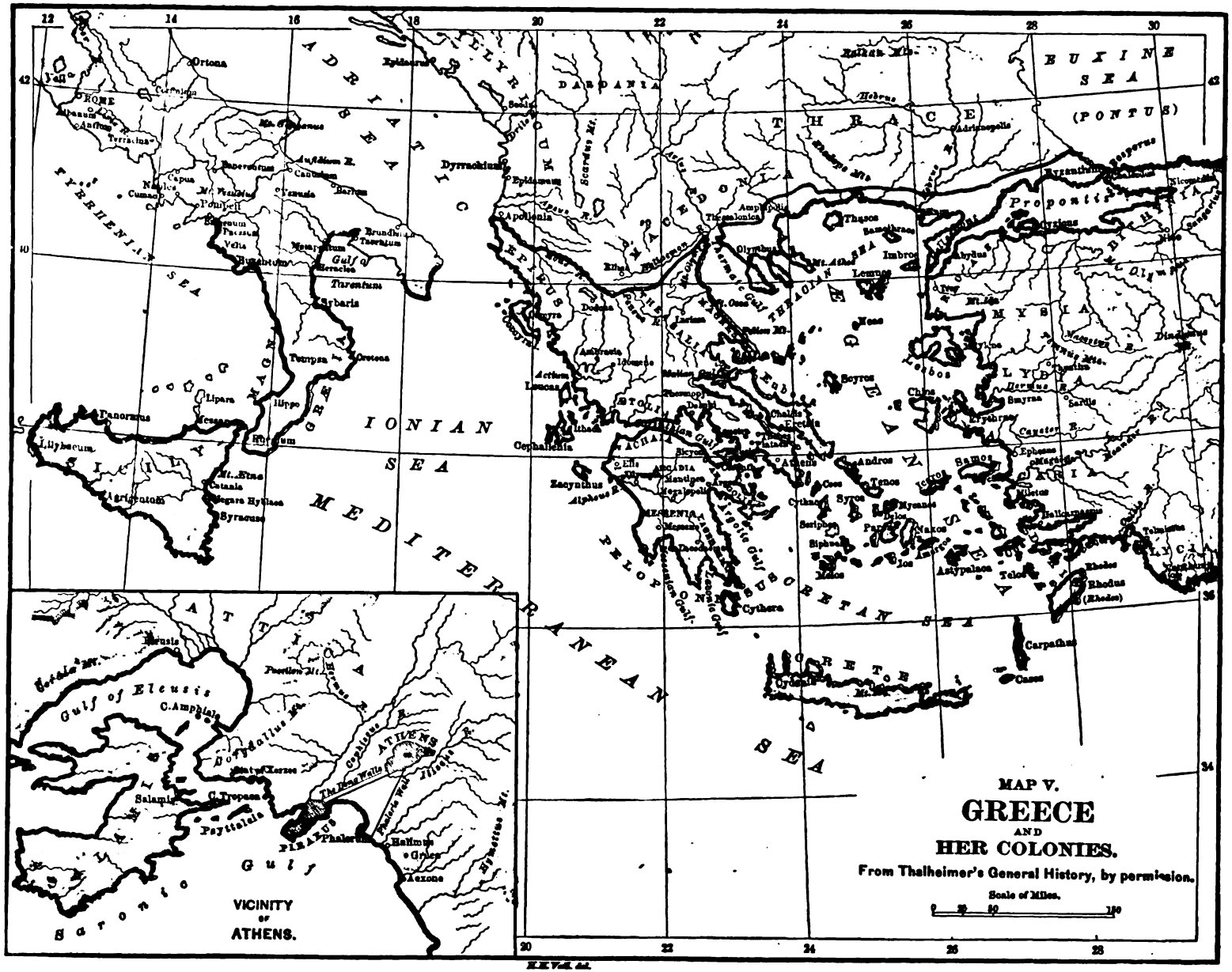
In the mean time Pericles had undertaken and completed those celebrated works known as the Long Walls, by which the two seaports of Athens—Phalerum and Piræus—were joined with the city. One of these walls was four miles and the other four and a-half miles in length. They were built so thick and high as to be impregnable to any ordinary assault, and furnished an abundant protection to the commercial and foreign interests of Athens. The ascendency thus gained by the city was so undisputed that, for a number of years, not even the Spartans dared to break the peace which the Athenians had enforced in Central Greece. A five years' truce was concluded between them, during which time Cimon, in the prosecution of his cherished ambition against the Persians, conducted an expedition to Cyprus and laid siege to the town of Citium. While this was in progress the great general died and was succeeded by Anaxicrates, who abandoned the siege, but soon afterward gained a decisive victory over the combined fleets of Phœnicians and Cilicians.

PERICLES.
London, British Museum.

In a short time after these events a general peace was made between the Persians and the Greeks. It was agreed, half informally and half by actual stipulations, that the Persian king would no longer tax or disturb, in any way, the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor; nor would he send any vessel of war to the west of a line drawn from the Thracian Bosphorus to Phaselis, in Lycia. As for the Athenians, they should refrain from all further aggression, and concede to the Persians the undisturbed possession of Cyprus and Egypt.

By this time the sway of Athens had become so complete, not only in European Greece, but among the Cyclades, that the Confederacy of Delos was virtually extinguished by her authority. Even the treasury of the league had been quietly transferred by the Athenians from Delos to their own city. In Central Greece the states of Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, and in Peloponnesus Trœzenia and Achaia had been almost completely subordinated to Athenian domination. It was virtually a Greek empire under the leadership of Athens. The city was now at the acme of her influence and splendor. For a few years, at the middle of the fifth century B. C., it may fairly be allowed that, for intellectual greatness, architectural achievement, and artistic fame Athens far surpassed any city of the ancient, and perhaps of the modern, world. It was, however, politically speaking, a short-lived glory. The nature of the bonds which united Athens to the dependent states were such as at any moment to be snapped asunder.

In B. C. 447, Bœotia threw off the Athenian yoke and made herself independent. In a futile attempt to suppress the insurrection, Tolmides, with one thousand heavy-armed soldiers—a force entirely inadequate to such an enterprise—was disastrously defeated and himself slain. Then followed in quick succession similar revolts in Phocis, Locris, Eubœa, and Megaris. Then came the Spartans, headed by the king, Pleistoanax, and entered the Attic territory. Nor is it certain that Athens herself would not then have fallen into the power of the Lacedæmonians but for the means employed by Pericles, who is said to have bribed the invaders to withdraw from the country. To compensate for these losses, the Athenian leader had nothing to boast except the reconquest of Eubœa. Such had been the collapse of Athenian pretensions that, in B. C. 445, Pericles was glad to enter into a truce of thirty years with Sparta, by the terms of which the Athenians agreed to abandon all conquests except in the Gulf of Corinth, and to leave the other states to their freedom.


ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
EUXINE SEA (PONTUS)
CRETAN SEA
THRACE
MACEDONIA
DARDANIA
EPIRUS
THESSALY
ACHAIA
ARCADIA
ELIS
MESSENIA
LACONIA
ARGOLIS
ATTICA
BOEOTIA
PHOCIS
LOCRIS
AETOLIA
ACARNANIA
CORCYRA
CRETE
MYSIA
LYDIA
IONIA
CARIA
LYCIA
PROPONTIS
ROME
Ostia
Antium
Terracina
Capua
Naples
Cumae
Puteoli
Beneventum
Paestum
Velia
Buxentum
Tarentum
Sybaris
Croton
Locri
Rhegium
Messana
Lipara
Panormus
Lilybaeum
Mt. Etna
Catana
Segesta
Agrigentum
Syracuse
Hydruntum
Brundusium
Dyrrachium
Apollonia
Epidamnus
Epidaurus
Scodra
Scardus Mt.
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
Olympus
Mt. Athos
Lemnos
Thasos
Samothrace
Abdera
Hebrus
Adrianople
Byzantium
Propontis
Cyzicus
Imbros
Lesbos
Chios
Smyrna
Ephesus
Samos
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Rhodes
Carpathus
Cos
Cnidus
Cyprus
Paphos
Salamis
Citium
Amathus
Tyre
Sidon
Berytus
Joppa
Ascalon
Gaza
Rhinocolura
Pelusium
Alexandria
Canopic mouth
Memphis
Heliopolis
Arsinoe
Ptolemais
Cyrene
Barca
Leptis
Hadrumetum
Utica
Carthage
Hippo
Numidia
Mauretania
Gaetulia
Libya
Cyrenaica
Egypt
Nile R.
Rubicon R.
Arno R.
Tiber R.
Po R.
Danube R.
Hebrus R.
Strymon R.
Axius R.
Peneus R.
Achelous R.
Alpheus R.
Eurotas R.
Cephissus R.
Asopus R.
Halys R.
Sangarius R.
Maeander R.
Cayster R.
Hermus R.
Caicus R.
Scamander R.
Simois R.
Granicus R.
Rhyndacus R.
Aesepus R.
Orontes R.
Jordan R.
Lake Asphaltites
Lake Gennesareth
Lake Merom
Lake Tiberias
Mt. Taurus
Mt. Amanus
Mt. Lebanon
Mt. Hermon
Mt. Ida
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Helicon
Mt. Cithaeron
Mt. Parnes
Mt. Hymettus
Mt. Pentelicus
Mt. Aegaleos
Mt. Taygetus
Mt. Lycaeus
Mt. Erymanthus
Mt. Cyllene
Mt. Aroania
Mt. Oeta
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Haemus
Mt. Rhodope
Mt. Orbelus
Mt. Scardus
Mt. Cambunian
Mt. Olympus (Lycia)
Mt. Cragus
Mt. Taurus
Mt. Ida (Troas)
Mt. Dindymus
Mt. Sipylus
Mt. Tmolus
Mt. Mycale
Mt. Latmus
Mt. Messogis
Mt. Cadmus
Mt. Dicte
Mt. Ida (Crete)
Mt. Lasithi
Mt. Aegialus
Mt. Panachaicus
Mt. Chelmos
Mt. Cyllene
Mt. Maenalus
Mt. Lycaeus
Mt. Parthenius
Mt. Ithome
Mt. Taygetus
Mt. Taenarum
Mt. Malea
Mt. Parnon
Mt. Arachnaeus
Mt. Oneion
Mt. Geraneia
Mt. Cithaeron
Mt. Helicon
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Oeta
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Haemus
Mt. Rhodope
Mt. Orbelus
Mt. Scardus
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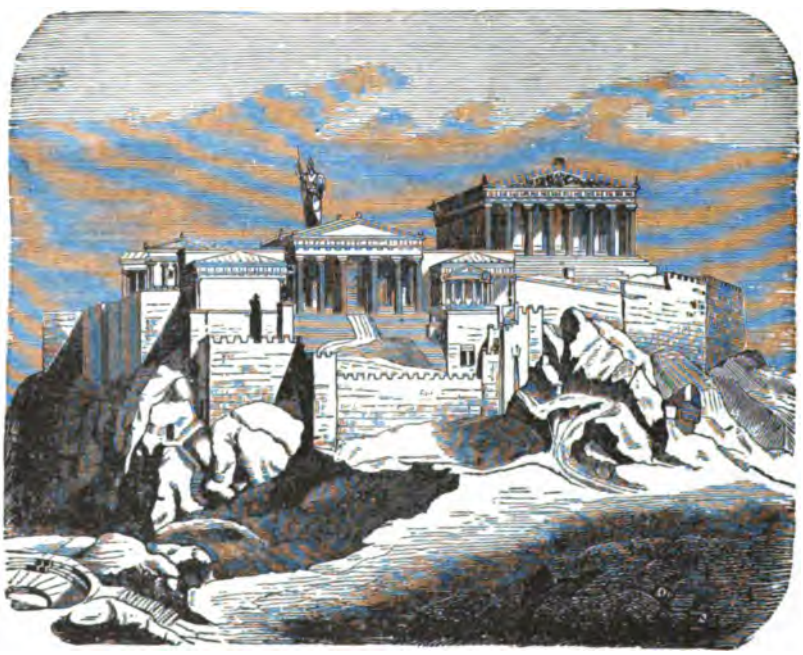
Mt. Taenarum
Mt. Malea
Mt. Parnon
Mt. Arachnaeus
Mt. Oneion
Mt. Geraneia
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Patras
Gulf of Arta
Gulf of Volo
Gulf of Salonica
Gulf of Cassandra
Gulf of Xerxes
Gulf of Melas
Gulf of Adramyttium
Gulf of Smyrna
Gulf of Ephesus
Gulf of Iasus
Gulf of Halicarnassus
Gulf of Cos
Gulf of Cnidus
Gulf of Rhodes
Gulf of Attalia
Gulf of Issus
Gulf of Alexandretta
Gulf of Sidra
Gulf of Cabes
Gulf of Tunis
Gulf of Carthage
Gulf of Utica
Gulf of Hippo
Gulf of Numidia
Gulf of Mauretania
Gulf of Gaetulia
Gulf of Libya
Gulf of Cyrenaica
Gulf of Egypt
Gulf of Eleusis
C. Amphialus
Parnes Mt.
Hermus R.
Cephissus R.
Athens
The Long Walls
Piraeus Wall
Ilissus R.
Hymettus Mt.
Salamis
C. Trypaea
Peiraeus
Phaleron
Halimus
Cyclus
Anexone
Saronic Gulf
VICINITY OF ATHENS.
MAP V.
GREECE AND HER COLONIES.
From Thalheimer's General History, by permission.
Scale of Miles.
0 30 60 120

These disasters of Athens, bringing with them a decline in the influence of Pericles, gave opportunity in the city for the revival of the party of the oligarchy. This was effected under the leadership of THUCYDIDES, a man of distinguished abilities, but not of such commanding genius as to be a fit opponent for Pericles. It was the circumstances rather than the preëminent talents of the leader that made him the competitor of the great democrat. Nor were the methods which he and his adherents adopted better calculated to win the favor of the Athenian populace. After beating in vain for a season against the democratic majority, Thucydides was relieved of the cares of party leadership by being ostracized. His party was broken up by his downfall, and Pericles, during the rest of his life, remained the undisputed leader of Athenian politics.

With the overthrow of the party of the aristocracy, Athens, as a city, was raised to the highest pitch of glory. Whatever art and letters and refinement could do to gild the splendid capital was bestowed without stint. Now it was that the ACROPOLIS was crowned with the magnificent PARTHENON, designed by Callicrates and Ictinus and adorned by Phidias. On the summit was reared the ivory statue of Athene Promachos, forty-seven feet in height, looking serenely towards the sea. Now, at the foot of the hill, was built the great ODEUM for the musical and dramatical entertainment of the people. Now, on the western side of the Acropolis, were constructed the PROPYLÆA, or entrances to the temple, second only in magnificence to the Parthenon itself. Nor were the useful works of the city neglected. A third wall was extended to the Piræus. The harbors and docks of Attica were improved and beautified, and the public markets greatly enlarged. The expense of these works is said to have exceeded $3,500,000. It was at this time that the dominion of Greek thought—of philosophy, of oratory, of art—was established on a basis which has not been materially shaken by the revolutions of twenty-two centuries, and which seems destined to be everlasting.

A second part of the policy of Pericles was the extension of the Athenian race by colonization. It was not the theory of Athens that companies of stragglers and vagabonds should represent her on foreign coasts, but rather that bands of reputable citizens, well organized and well supplied, should go abroad and establish Greek civilization in its integrity. At one time during the administration of Pericles, a company of a thousand Athenians settled in the Thracian Chersonesus; another band of five hundred in Naxos, and a third of two hundred and fifty in Andros. A still larger colony was established at Thurii, near the site of ancient Sybaris, in Southern Italy. Among those who joined this com-



THE ACROPOLIS, RESTORED.

pany were the orator Lysias and the historian Herodotus. In B. C. 437, another settlement of equal importance was made at Amphipolis, on the river Strymon, in Macedonia—a dependency which afterwards played a conspicuous part in Greek history.

A more liberal and less ambitious policy on the part of Pericles might have postponed or possibly averted the coming disasters of his country. But, in his eagerness to make Athens glorious, there was but little thought given to justice and equity of administration. Especially was this manifested in the exorbitant tribute which was collected from the Athenian dependencies. The members of the Confederacy of Delos were taxed to the extent of six hundred talents annually, and this too when the occasion for which the tribute was originally levied had entirely passed away. The peace with the Persians made such an imposition no longer necessary as a measure of defense; but the ambition of Pericles still exacted it as a measure of luxury.

At this time the only members of the Confederacy which retained their freedom and continued to consult with the Athenians on terms of comparative equality, were Samos, Lesbos, and Chios. The first of these islands became embroiled with the Milesians, and the latter appealed to Athens for a settlement of the difficulty. The Samian government was still under the control of an oligarchy, and this furnished Pericles with a good excuse for interference. In B. C. 440 an expedition was sent to reduce the Samians by force. A democracy was established in the island, and many leading Samians were sent to Lemnos as hostages. This state of things, however, was soon undone by a counter revolution backed by the satrap of Sardis; but the Athenians returned, put down the revolt, and re-established their own style of government over the Samians. The latter were obliged to pay the expenses of the war, amounting to a thousand talents, and to give hostages for the maintenance of the peace.

Such was the condition of affairs in B. C. 435, when a petty quarrel between Corinth and her dependency Corcyra applied the spark to the long smouldering animosities and jealousies of the Greeks, and set their country in the flames of civil war.

CHAPTER XLVI.—THE PELOPONNESIAN WARS.

EARLY in her history the city of Corinth had established, on the island of that name, the colony of Corcyra. Afterwards Corcyra sent out a colony and founded Epidamnus on the coast of Epirus. The latter, however, as well as the former, regarded Corinth as her mother city. The Epidamnians, like the other Greek states, expelled the oligarchical party, and the latter brought in the Illyrians to restore them. The authorities appealed to Corcyra for aid, which was refused; for the Corcyræans sympathized with the oligarchs. The Epidamnians then applied to Corinth. The latter sent out an expedition, and the democracy in Epidamnus was sustained. But the authorities of Corcyra resented the interference, sent a squadron, blockaded the town, and restored the oligarchs. The Corcyræans then tried to persuade the Corinthians to refer the matter to arbitration, but the latter sent a still larger fleet to the western coast, and this was defeated and destroyed by the Corcyræan squadron at Actium. This left the Epidamnians at the mercy of the oligarchical party.

The Corinthians immediately went to work rebuilding their fleet. Within two years they had gathered with their own exertions and from their allies a squadron of one hundred and fifty ships. The Corcyræans, seeing these preparations and remembering that Corinth was a member of the Lacedæmonian league, applied to Athens for support. The Athenian

assembly, after hearing the ambassadors, resolved upon a defensive alliance with Corcyra, and agreed to defend the island in case of invasion. To this end a fleet of ten sail, under command of Lacedæmonius, was sent to the Corcyræans. In the mean time the Corinthian fleet arrived, and a hard battle was fought, in which the Corcyræans were defeated. But, as the Corinthians were preparing to press their advantage on the morrow, a new contingent of twenty vessels hove in sight from Athens. The Corinthian captain, believing this to be but a detachment of a larger fleet, at once stood away and sailed for home.

In this condition of affairs Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, appeared on the scene. Having certain grievances against the Athenians, he sought revenge by instigating the inhabitants of Potidæa, a dependency of Athens occupying the neck of the peninsula of Pallené, to revolt against the mother city. At the same time he urged the Spartans, as the head of the Lacedæmonian league, to make an invasion of Attica. Hereupon the Ephors called a meeting of the Peloponnesian states. The dissatisfied delegates addressed the assembly, and all were loud in their denunciations of the Athenians. An agent of Athens then resident in Sparta spoke in favor of his country, but the adverse opinion prevailed, and near the close of B. C. 432 war was resolved upon by the Peloponnesian league against the Athenians.

Sparta did not, however, proceed to immediate hostility. With her usual cunning she undertook, first of all, to secure the overthrow of Pericles. The opponents of this statesman were instigated to attack him. He was charged with peculations. His friend, the philosopher Anaxagoras, was persecuted for opinion's sake. He was not orthodox on the subject of the gods. With him was involved ASPASIA, that paragon of beauty and genius, who for years had shared the counsels and affections of Pericles. The philosopher fled, but Aspasia was tried. The haughty Pericles, who for a generation had stood unmoved in every storm, wept as he pleaded her cause before the court. She was acquitted; but the enemies of the statesman next turned upon Phidias, and he was prosecuted on the charge of having appropriated the gold which had been voted for the Acropolitan statue of Athene. The great sculptor died in prison before the day of trial.

None the less, the party of Pericles stood firm, and he retained his grip on the rudder of the state. The Spartans continued to prod him with demands, and finally sent an ultimatum to the effect that if the Athenians would avoid war they should at once liberate all of their dependent states. The assembly replied that Athens did not desire war, that she would give satisfaction for her seeming violation of the Thirty Years' truce, but as for the rest she would resist force with force.

Actual hostilities were begun by the Thebans who, in the interest of the Peloponnesian league, fell upon Platæa by night. The band, however, that thus unexpectedly to the Platæans gained possession of their city was soon overwhelmed, and before daybreak all but one hundred and eighty were killed and the rest made prisoners. When the main army of Thebes came up it was induced to retire with the promise that the prisoners should be given up, but the Platæans took advantage of the lull, gathered in their friends and property from the surrounding districts, and then killed the prisoners to the last man. This perfidious and desperate deed, though done against a band of guerrillas, set the states on fire. Passion spread like a conflagration. The pent-up jealousy of forty cities, each with its long-smothered grievance, burst forth against the Athenian commonwealth as the common cause of all the ills that Greek flesh had inherited. Delos was rocked with an earthquake. Crazy soothsayers harangued crowds of the superstitious. The oracles lifted up their ambiguous voice and uttered two-tongued promises and imprecations. The blood was hot. Neutrality was hardly thought of. Every Peloponnesian state, except Argos and Achaia, ranged itself with Sparta; and in Central Greece Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, and East Locris, besides the tribes of Leucadia and Anactoria, all gathered under the Lacedæmonian banners. One might think, from the sudden and universal

explosion of animosity, that the Greek race had become more wearied with hearing Athens called the *Great* than the Athenians themselves had been tired of hearing Aristides called the *Just:* and in either case there was equal reason—or the want of it. The continental allies of Athens were Thessaly, Platæa, Acarnania, and a part of Messenia about Naupactus. Her insular support embraced Chios, Lesbos, Corcyra, Cephallenia, and Zacynthus. In those resources which are said to constitute the sinews of war the Athenians had great strength. In the treasury of the Acropolis was deposited a sum equal to seven millions of dollars. The annual revenue of the state was very great, and the riches of the various temples and shrines—not, of course, to be rashly touched by the hand of war—gave another immense aggregate. The fleet consisted of three hundred vessels; the standing army of thirty-one thousand eight hundred men. The forces of the league were superior in foot soldiers, being about sixty thousand strong, but greatly inferior in the matter of a fleet. This defect the Spartans hoped to supply by the help of the Corinthians and the Dorian colonies of Italy, or in case of need to call upon their friends, *the Persians.*

The army of the confederation assembled at the isthmus of Corinth under command of Archidamus, the Spartan king. From this point the expedition began against Attica. By midsummer of B. C 431 the march had proceeded to the Thriasian plain, near Eleusis. By the orders of Pericles the country was abandoned. The population withdrew within the walls of Athens, and the city was filled to overflowing. Archidamus was disappointed in his hope of bringing on a general battle. The cooped-up people clamored greatly at the policy adopted, and the Athenian cavalry was sent out to harass the enemy. From the Thriasian plain the Spartans next moved to Acharnæ, and continued their ravages. To appease the people as well as to punish the enemy Pericles sent a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships to fall upon the coast of Peloponnesus. The Corinthian settlement of Sollium, the town of Astacus, and the island of Cephallonia which, until now, had held a dubious attitude in the conquest, were taken by the squadron. The Locrian towns of Thronium and Alope were also captured by another detachment of the Athenian fleet, and the anti-Athenian party in Ægina was suppressed and driven out of the island. The effect of these bold diversions was such that late in the summer Archidamus evacuated the country, and his army was presently disbanded. As soon as this movement was known in Athens, Pericles marched out with thirteen thousand heavy armed soldiers, invaded Megaris, and ravaged the country as furiously as the Lacedæmonians had wasted Attica.

It was now evident that the war was destined to be of long duration. The Athenians accordingly made every preparation to maintain their cause. In accordance with a resolution of the assembly, one thousand talents were sacredly set apart for the service of the city in case she should be attacked by sea; and it was further resolved that each year a hundred galleys should be retained for the protection of the city.

In the beginning of the second campaign, B. C. 430, Archidamus again invaded Attica. At this juncture a foe appeared within the walls of Athens far more more dreadful than the enemy without. A dreadful pestilence attacked the people, with which they began to sicken and die by hundreds. It was a form of pestilence hitherto unknown in the city. The Greek physicians could in no wise stay its progress. Terror seized the public mind. Some ascribed the plague to the wrath of Apollo. Others said that the Spartans had poisoned the wells. The superstitious mountebank, who in every age of the world has afflicted human society with his pestilential presence, came out from his place and abetted the disease by playing upon the fears of the people. The malady attacked the mind as well as the body. A gloomy and despondent spirit foreran the approach of the pestilence. Athens was a universal funeral. Hundreds lay unburied. The air reeked with the stench of corpses. One fourth of the population died. The Lacedæmonian without and Death within stretched a pall over At-

tica. The mutterings of despair joined their volume with the howl of discontent, and a spirit less resolute than Pericles would have succumbed to the clamor. But he stood like a statue. To distract the public mind from its grief, and to empty the stricken city of a part of its population, he fitted up a squadron at Piræus, took command himself, sailed to Peloponnesus, and began to mete to the towns of the league the same vengeance which they had measured to him. But, notwithstanding his herculean efforts, sedition broke out in the city. Cleon, his political adversary, took advantage of his absence, and preferred against him the charge of peculation. Pericles was condemned to pay a fine; and for awhile it seemed that, at last, the influence of the great leader over the minds of his countrymen was broken.

But public opinion soon reacted; he was again chosen general of the army, and quickly regained his ascendency. The drama of his life, however, was now nearing the final scene. The members of his family were struck down by the plague. He himself survived an attack of the epidemic; but a low fever supervened, the forces of nature failed, and Pericles lay dying. In the last hours he said to those who were recalling the exploits of his brilliant career: "What you praise in me is partly the result of good fortune, or is, at all events, common to me with many other commanders. What I chiefly pride myself upon, you have not noticed: on my account no Athenian ever wore mourning."

Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians continued to ravage Attica. In a campaign of forty days' duration they carried their devastations into all parts of the peninsula. During the year also the allied fleet seized the island of Zacynthus, but was not able to retain it. The fisheries and commerce of the Athenians suffered not a little from the attacks of Spartan and Corinthian buccaneers, whose plan of battle was to fight, filch, and flee. The prisoners taken by these pirates were generally put to death without mercy. It was not long, however, until the Athenians found opportunity to apply the *lex talionis*. A company of Spartan envoys, on their way to the court of Persia, paused *en route* to seduce Sitalces, king of Thrace, from his allegiance to the Athenians. But the seduction extended only so far as this—that they were themselves arrested and sent to the authorities of Athens, by whom they were killed as so many dogs. Among those who thus perished was Aristeus, one of the ablest generals of the league.

In the mean time the siege of Potidæa was at last brought to a successful issue. The resistance had been long and obstinate. The Potidæans defended their town with desperate valor, and when at last reduced by famine to the verge of despair, they ate the bodies of their dead sooner than surrender. Only when honorable terms were offered did they finally succumb to necessity and capitulate to the besiegers. The town was then destroyed and the territory occupied by a colony sent out from Athens.

The third year of the war opened with the siege of Platæa by the Spartans. The latter had now grown weary of ravaging Attica, and determined to strike a decisive blow by overwhelming the city by whose act the conflict had been kindled. On their approach the Platæans sent out an embassy solemnly protesting against the invasion on the grounds of the oath of Pausanias, who, after the overthrow of the Persians, had publicly vowed to Zeus Eleutherius that henceforth the freedom and independence of Platæa would ever be regarded and upheld by the Spartans. But the oath of the dead was not likely to prevail with a race whose notion of faith was to break it whenever it promised advantage to do so.

The Platæans were summoned to surrender. When this was refused Archidamus proposed that the inhabitants of the city should go whithersoever they pleased, that the Lacedæmonians would till the country until the war was ended and then restore it to the original owners. But on referring the question to the Athenians the latter advised the Platæans to hold out against the invaders, and the proposal was accordingly declined.

The siege at once began. The town contained less than six hundred people, and yet this handful defied the army of the league and determined to defend themselves to the

last. Archidamus began to build a mound outside of the wall, from the summit of which his soldiers might surmount the barricade. But the Platæans built a second wall inside of the first, and at the same time undermined the mound which was thrown up outside. After three months of vain endeavor the Lacedæmonians were obliged to adopt the policy of a mere blockade, which should of necessity reduce the garrison by starvation. For two years the Platæans held out, and then when their provisions were nearly exhausted, two hundred and twelve of their number, choosing a dark December night, scaled the ramparts which the Spartans had built around the town, and escaped. The remainder still defended themselves, but were at last compelled by sheer famine to capitulate. There remained of the garrison two hundred Platæans and twenty-five Athenians.

As soon as all were surrendered they were brought to trial. Each one was led before the Spartan judges and asked the question whether during the present war *he had rendered any assistance to the Lacedæmonians or their allies?* The question was, of course, not even a decent mockery, and was necessarily answered in the negative. Thereupon without further ceremony every man of the number was led off and executed. The town of Platæa was leveled to the earth and the territory given to the Thebans.

During this third year of the war, Sitalces, king of Thrace, acting on the suggestion of the Athenians, invaded the dominions of Perdiccas of Macedon; but the expedition was undertaken at so late a season that its serious consequence was to drive the Macedonians to take refuge in their towns until the Tracians were withdrawn. About the same time, the Spartans, using Corinth as a base of operations, prepared a fleet of forty-seven vessels, and proceeded to make an expedition against Acarnania. At this time a small Athenian squadron of twenty sail, under command of Phormio, lay at Naupactus. Notwithstanding the disparity of the fleets, the Athenian captain attacked the Peloponnesian armament, and gained a decisive victory. The Lacedæmonians, enraged at this result, prepared a new fleet of seventy-seven vessels and again started to cross the gulf; but nothing daunted, Phormio a second time gave battle, and if not positively victorious, so crippled the enemy's squadron that the expedition had to be abandoned. As a slight compensation for these disasters, the Spartans succeeded in surprising Salamis by night and ravaging a good part of the island before the Athenians could rally and drive them off.

From this time forth for several seasons the annual invasion of Attica occurred, with its monotonous repetition of pillage and destruction.

What with these perpetual devastations, and what with the wasting plague, Athens was becoming exhausted; but her spirit rose with the occasion. New levies were made for the fleet from the upper classes of society. An income tax was laid upon the people, by which two hundred talents were to be annually added to the treasury. The Lacedæmonians were surprised by the appearance of two new squadrons at a time when they were imagining the maritime strength of the Athenians to be nearly extinct. It was fortunate for the latter that they were thus able to recuperate, for the fourth year of the war brought them a serious trial in the revolt of Mitylene. An armament was, however, immediately sent against the rebellious island, and the Mityleneans were subjected to a rigorous blockade. Assistance was promised by the Spartan government, and a squadron was sent out under Alcidas, but before he arrived off Lesbos the Athenians had compelled the place to capitulate.

During the debates in the Athenian assembly as to what disposition should be made of the prisoners, the demagogue Cleon, already mentioned as a would-be rival of Pericles, appeared as a leader. He had been a leather-seller,[1] and had every quality of mind and character requisite in a rabble-rouser. In the present instance he proposed in the very face of the terms granted by Paches, the Athenian commander before Mitylene, that not only the prisoners now in the power of the authorities, but also the whole adult male

[1] See the satire of Aristophanes, *supra*, p.

population of the captured city, *should be put to death!* And the resolution was carried. A trireme was immediately dispatched to Lesbos to order the execution of the edict. The mad democratic mob that had ordered this butchery then slept and woke up sober. The atrocity of the thing staggered the city, and on the morrow a new meeting was called to reconsider. After an acrimonious debate, a revocation of the previous order was carried by a bare majority. A second trireme, now twenty-four hours behind the other, was at once sent away to stay the execution of the Mitylenians. The galley reached Lesbos just in time. The former order was already in the hands of Paches, and he was preparing to carry it into effect when the panting oarsmen of the second boat reached the shore. The merciful edict of the assembly, however, extended only to the citizens of Mitylene, and not to the prisoners who had been taken in the siege and sent to Athens. These, to the number of more than a thousand, were led out and put to death.

The Mitylenean atrocity was excused by the Athenians on the ground that it was a measure of just retaliation for the massacre of the Platæans by the Lacedæmonians. It was not long till another scene of still more fearful cruelty was enacted in Corcyra. For some time there had been in that island a bitter struggle between the oligarchical faction supported by Sparta and the democratical party backed by Athens. After much mutual violence and several counter revolutions, the oligarchs were, by the arrival of an Athenian fleet, completely overthrown. The popular vengeance broke forth furiously against them. They were pursued into their hiding places. They were dragged from the temple-altars and butchered without a sign of mercy or compunction. For seven days the horrible massacre continued, and then ceased only because there were no more to murder.

In the next epoch of the war the plague reäppeared in Athens, and Peloponnesus was again shaken by an earthquake. The Athenians, attributing their woes to the anger of Apollo, ordered a purification of the island of Delos, provided that no more births or deaths should occur in that sacred seat, and instituted a festival in honor of the offended god. In the seventh year's invasion of Attica by the Spartan general Agis, the devastation was suddenly brought to an end by the news that the Athenians, under the lead of Demosthenes, had succeeded in establishing a military station at Pylus, in Messenia, thus menacing the peace of all Western Peloponnesus. Agis was recalled and ordered to dislodge Demosthenes from his foothold in Messenia. The latter, with a small force of about one thousand men, built fortifications and awaited the onset. A Spartan fleet, commanded by Brasidas, arrived in the bay and made an unsuccessful attack upon the Athenians. Then came a squadron from Athens, and the Spartans were driven away with a loss of five ships. They, however, continued to occupy the densely wooded island of Sphacteria, which lay across the entrance to the bay of Pylus.

This place was now closely blockaded by the Athenian squadron, and it presently became apparent that the Peloponnesian army was reduced to great straits. The Spartan Ephors, after having themselves reconnoitered the situation, decided that there was no hope but to surrender. An embassy was accordingly sent to Athens, and the assembly at last had the inexpressible joy of seeing a company of saturnine Spartan envoys humbly suing for peace! Cleon was in his glory, and, taking advantage of the occasion, insisted upon such extravagant terms as could not be granted but by the ruin of the Lacedæmonians. The views of the demagogue prevailed over prudence, and the opportunity for a favorable peace was thrown away. The envoys were sent back to Pylus, and Demosthenes was ordered to press the siege of Sphacteria to a successful issue. The armistice broke up in mutual bad faith, and hostilities were at once renewed.

The Spartans, now grown desperate, succeeded by one means and another in getting a considerable quantity of provisions to the island, and the siege was indefinitely prolonged. While the Athenians were expecting to hear of the capture of the Spartan army, a demand came for reënforcements. There was a reäc-

tion in the assembly, and Cleon was about to lose his grip; but he turned furiously upon Nicias, one of the generals, and accused him of being the cause of the delay and disappointment. The braggart then went on to declare that if *he* were *strategus*, he would take Sphacteria in twenty days. Thereupon Nicias moved that Cleon be given the command! In spite of an attempted escape from his own trap, the demagogue was obliged to accept what the assembly now thrust upon him, and without one day's military experience he departed with a small force to take command at Pylus!

On arriving at the scene Cleon found the Athenians already preparing for an assault on the island. By accident a fire was kindled in the edge of the forest, which, blown into a conflagration by the wind, swept through the island and destroyed the forest, which had thus far been the main protection of the Spartans. The latter were thus exposed to an attack. The Athenians, led by Demosthenes and Cleon, landed in force, and a battle of unusual severity was fought, in which the Spartans were completely defeated. In answer to a demand for surrender, the remnant threw down their shields and *held up their hands!*

Such a scene had not before been witnessed in Greece. It was the Spartan code to conquer or die; but now two hundred and ninety-two of the supposed invincibles, many of them of the best families in Laconia, gave themselves into the power of an enemy. The victory was complete. Pylus was strengthened. The prisoners were taken to Athens; and before the expiration of the twenty days Cleon, by the strange favor of fortune, stood in the assembly and presented his prisoners!

After the siege of Sphacteria, the Athenian fleet, under Eurymedon and Sophocles, proceeded to Corcyra, and aided the people of that island in reducing the last post held by the oligarchs, the fortress of Istone. This place was surrendered on condition that the prisoners should be spared until they should be condemned after a formal trial before the assembly; but they were presently induced to try to escape, for the express purpose that a pretext might be found for their destruction. Eurymedon consented to this atrocious piece of business, and all the prisoners were led out two by two and put to death.

At this juncture the Athenians were undoubtedly in a position to have procured terms of peace most advantageous to the state; but they gave themselves up to passion and continued hostility. In the beginning of the eighth year they reduced the important island of Cythera, and once more ravaged the coasts of Laconia. They then undertook a campaign against the Megarians, and another into Bœotia. In the first of these some advantages were gained, and the town of Nissæa was taken and occupied by an Athenian garrison. But the Bœotian expedition ended in disaster. The state was invaded on both sides simultaneously, by Demosthenes and Hippocrates. The former found the country preöccupied, and was obliged to retire, and the latter, after having gained possession of the temple of Apollo at Delium, and garrisoned the town, was overtaken in the plain of Oropus and completely routed. Nothing but the approach of night saved any part of the Athenian army from the fury of the heavy-armed soldiers of Bœotia. Delium was retaken, and the campaign closed with the complete recovery of the country from Athenian influence.

In the mean time the long-cherished plan of Sparta to overthrow the rule of her rival in Thrace was successfully carried out by Brasidas. With a force of one thousand seven hundred picked troops he made his way through Thessaly, and, forming a junction with the forces of Perdiccas of Macedon, proceeded into Thrace. Here his conduct was such as to win over a large part of those who adhered to the Athenian cause. The two towns of Acanthus and Stagirus received him gladly. He then urged his way to the important colony of Amphipolis, on the river Strymon. Even this place was surrendered without a siege, as were also most of the towns in the Chalcidician peninsulas.

The effect was such that Athens was now, in her turn, anxious for peace. In the ninth year after the opening of hostilities (B. C. 423), a truce was agreed to for twelve months,

and both parties found time to breathe from the long struggle in which they had been engaged. In the beginning of the next year, however, the war was renewed, and Cleon made an effort to recover Thrace. With a large army he went against Amphipolis, which was defended by Brasidas. The latter, with his large military experience, was more than a match for the loud democrat whom accident had once led to victory. Brasidas soon lulled his antagonist into fancied security, and then sallied out and inflicted a terrible defeat. Cleon was killed, together with half of the Athenian soldiery. The rest were scattered to the winds. Brasidas, however, was mortally wounded in the battle, and was carried into the town to die. He was buried in the agora, and was henceforth honored as *œcist*, or founder of Amphipolis.

The war had now degenerated into personal antagonisms and recriminations. By the death of the two leaders, the one a "king" of Sparta and the other the popular despot of the Athenian assembly, the principal agents in perpetuating the strife were removed. Nicias, who now assumed the leadership in Athens, and Pleistoanax, the other Spartan king, were both favorable to peace. In B. C. 421 negotiations were opened, and were soon brought to a successful issue in a proclamation of peace for fifty years. The leading principle assumed in the pacification was a mutual restitution of prisoners and conquests. Upon this, however, there were some restrictions. Thebes was permitted to retain Platæa. Athens kept Nissæa—the seaport of Megaris—Anactorium, and Sollium. Several towns regained their independence. Others, which were left tributary to the Athenians, had their tax reduced to the scale established by Aristides. The allies of Athens were generally pleased with the settlement, but the dependent states of the league against her were filled with resentment towards Sparta, for whom they had fought eleven years, and by whom they were now abandoned. Bœotia, Corinth, Elis, and Megaris refused to sign the treaty, and their attitude became so hostile that Sparta made an alliance with Athens to maintain the compact.—Thus did the PEACE OF NICIAS at last afford to distracted Greece an opportunity to recuperate her powers, so terribly shattered by the shocks and ravages of civil war.

Much difficulty was experienced in attempting to secure compliance with the terms of the treaty. The Spartans found it impossible to surrender Amphipolis to the Athenians, for the inhabitants refused to accede to the transfer. Thereupon the authorities of Athens declined to surrender the harbor of Pylus. The disaffected Corinthians, now entirely alienated from Sparta, projected the scheme of a new Lacedæmonian confederacy, with Argos at the head. In the midst of these complications, ALCIBIADES appeared on the stage of Athenian politics. He soon became one of the most striking figures that had risen in that stormy arena. Young and brilliant, of an illustrious descent, dashing and courageous, quick in conception and fertile in expedients, unscrupulous and reckless, he possessed the very qualities which in success would make, and in disaster mar, an Athenian statesman. His ambition was as boundless as his conduct was notorious. Not even the austere genius of his instructor, Socrates, could bring the audacious and extravagant youth to any thing like a decent discipline.

ALCIBIADES.—Visconti.

The first noted public appearance of this distinguished youth was on the occasion of the coming of the Lacedæmonian ambassadors requesting the surrender of Pylus. He at first violently opposed the petition, and even went so far as to urge the sending of an embassy to Argos to solicit that city to become a member in a new Athenian league. In spite of the earnest efforts of Nicias and of the protests of the Spartan ambassador, Alcibiades,

by means of intrigue and bluster, succeeded in this work, and not only Argos, but also Elis and Mantinea, agreed to maintain an alliance with Athens for a hundred years.

In the next year, B. C. 419, the Athenians were again admitted to the Olympic games. It was supposed that, just emerging from a long and ruinous war, she would present but a sorry figure at the great festival. What, therefore, was the surprise of the assembled states when Alcibiades himself entered for the games seven four-horse chariots, and with these gained both the first and the second prize? Besides his display in the races, he procured from his countrymen one of the richest general exhibits ever presented on such an occasion; and at the conclusion of the celebration all Greece rang with the praises of the Athenians.

But Alcibiades was a politician as well as a racer. He visited several Peloponnesian towns, with the purpose of alienating them more and more from the Spartan cause. These proceedings continued until the Lacedæmonians were obliged to resist. They marched into Argos and gained a position from which they might soon have won a marked success; but Agis, the commander, permitted himself to be tricked into a truce by the machinations of Alcibiades, who then gathered a force of Argives and Athenians and invaded Mantinea. Near the temple of Hercules they were met by the Spartan army under Agis, and were disastrously defeated. It was estimated that one thousand one hundred men of the allied forces perished in the battle. This success induced the state of Argolis to detach itself from Athens and return to its old relations with the Lacedæmonians.

In the year B. C. 416, the Athenians succeeded in the capture of Melos and Thera, the only islands in the Ægean not hitherto brought under their dominion. In the conquest of the Melians—whose only offense consisted in refusing to surrender to those who had attacked them in a time of peace—the Athenians crowned all their preceding atrocities by putting the male citizens of the island to death and selling the women and children into slavery.

In the mean time, about B. C. 428, the Dorian race in Sicily, under the leadership of Syracuse, had become identified with the Peloponnesian league, then at war with Athens. War had been declared against the towns of Leontini and Camarina, as well as the Italian city of Rhegium. Hereupon the Leontinians sent their orator, Gorgias, to Athens to solicit aid. At that time the Athenians voted aid to all the enemies of Sparta; so a fleet of twenty sail was sent to help the anti-Lacedæmonian league in the West.

In the following year another squadron of forty galleys was sent to Sicily, and it now became apparent that Athens instead of helping others entertained the covert purpose of helping herself to the possession of the whole island. A reäction occurred among the Sicilians, and the expedition was obliged to sail home in disgrace. Three years later, however, the Leontinians again asked for assistance, but the Athenians were not then in a condition to give it; but when, in B. C. 416, the application was renewed from the town of Egesta, then at war with Selinus, Alcibiades espoused the project, and a resolution of support was about to be voted; but the cautious Nicias interposed and induced the assembly first to send an embassy to Egesta to see whether the game was worth the expenditure. The Egestæans entertained the envoys. They took them into the temple of Aphrodite and displayed a vast heap of treasures which were *borrowed for the occasion!* They gave a banquet which nearly exhausted the resources of the town. But the ambassadors were generously hoodwinked, and took home a glowing account of the luxury of the western city! So it was at once resolved to espouse the cause of these wealthy petitioners, and a squadron of a hundred ships—under the joint command of Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus—was dispatched to Sicily.

No enterprise ever undertaken by the Greeks was more enthusiastically prosecuted. Crowds of volunteers came forward and begged to be accepted for the expedition. The three commanders vied with each other in the equipment of their respective ships.

The Athenians gave themselves to the work of preparation as if to a holiday. Finally, when every thing was in readiness, and the fleet was on the eve of departure, an event occurred which not only dampened the public ardor but stirred the superstitions and fears of the people to their profoundest depths. In a single night the statues of the god Hermes, which stood at the street corners and in all the public places of the city, were mutilated and knocked to pieces. No such a shocking sacrilege had ever before been known in the history of the country. No reason could be assigned for the act. The universality of the destruction indicated that it had been accomplished by a band of conspirators acting secretly in the dead of night. No one was detected in the work. The people awoke in the morning to find the sacred busts in front of their houses wantonly disfigured or broken into a shapeless mass. The excitement and indignation of the public knew no bounds.

A commission was at once appointed to examine witnesses and discover the perpetrators of the crime; but the investigation was without practical results. Suspicion fell upon Alcibiades, but no proof was discovered against him. The suspicion, however, held fast, and when no evidence could be adduced of his guilt in the mutilation of the Hermæ, Pythonicus, one of the leaders of the Assembly, preferred against him the charge of having profaned the Eleusinian mysteries by giving a representation of them in private. In proof of this the testimony of a slave was given; but Alcibiades denied the charge and demanded an investigation. The inquiry, however, was, by the machinations of his enemies, postponed until after the return of the expedition. It was thus contrived that Alcibiades should depart under a cloud. Meanwhile, the preparation of the fleet was completed, and Corcyra was named as the place of rendezvous. The departure of the squadron was such a scene as the Athenians had never witnessed. The force consisted of two thousand two hundred and fifty heavy-armed soldiers. At day-break these marched on board of the gayly decorated vessels lying at the wharves of Piræus. Nearly the whole population of the city lined the shores. A blast of the trumpet proclaimed silence. Then was heard the voice of the herald lifted in prayer to the country's gods. The war pæan of the Greek was chanted, and libations were poured into the sea from goblets of gold and silver. Then each galley, as if in a race, started for the island of Ægina. Thence the squadron sailed to Corcyra, where it was augmented by the arrival of thirty-four galleys and nearly six thousand troops sent by the states in alliance with Athens. On arriving at Southern Italy, the Greeks were coldly received. Even at Rhegium permission to purchase supplies was granted with reluctance. In the mean time the news was borne to Syracuse and preparations were immediately made to defend the city.

While lying in the harbor of Rhegium, the Greek commanders fell into serious disputes about the purposes and plans of the expedition. Nicias was in favor of limiting the campaign to the reduction of Selinus; while Alcibiades and Lamachus proposed that the capture of Syracuse should be included in their conquest. Lamachus favored an immediate attack upon the Sicilian capital while it was yet unprepared for defense. Alcibiades, however, preferred such a delay as would enable him to procure assistance from the Italian allies of Athens. This view prevailed. For the present nothing was done except to explore the harbor of Syracuse and to take possession of Catana, which was henceforth used as a base of supplies and operations for the Greek squadron.

At this point news was received from Athens indicating an extremely unfortunate state of affairs in the city. Terror had seized the public mind on account of the mutilation of the Hermæ. The charge of having committed that crime was again brought forward against Alcibiades. Many persons were arrested, among whom was an orator named Andocides, who turned informer, and by means of his own testimony and that of slaves secured the conviction and execution of a number of citizens. This had the effect to quiet public excitement, but the persons put to death were doubtless innocent of the crime.

The charge of having profaned the Eleusinian mysteries was still unanswered, and a vote was passed by the assembly demanding the return of Alcibiades for trial. A galley was dispatched to Sicily to bring him to Athens; but on his way home he effected his escape and sailed to Sparta. The Athenian court regarding this flight as a confession of guilt, condemned him to death, and ordered the confiscation of his property. On hearing of his sentence, Alcibiades remarked with nonchalance, "I will show the Athenians that I am still alive."

Meanwhile the operations in Sicily had made no progress. The Syracusans were not even annoyed at the presence of an enemy so little aggressive. Their horsemen rode around the Athenian camp and insulted the garrison. A rumor was now blown abroad that the inhabitants of Catana were themselves on the eve of expelling the Athenians. In order to assist this movement, the Syracusan army drew out of the city and marched to the aid of the Catanæans. Seizing the opportunity afforded by their absence, Nicias succeeded in conveying his whole squadron into the harbor, effected a landing near the temple of the Olympian Zeus, and threw up fortifications. Here he was presently attacked by the Syracusan army returning from Catana, but the victory remained with the Athenians, who presently withdrew into winter-quarters at Naxos. From this point Nicias sent messengers to Athens asking fresh supplies of troops and means. A reënforcement of cavalry was accordingly sent out, with three hundred talents in money.

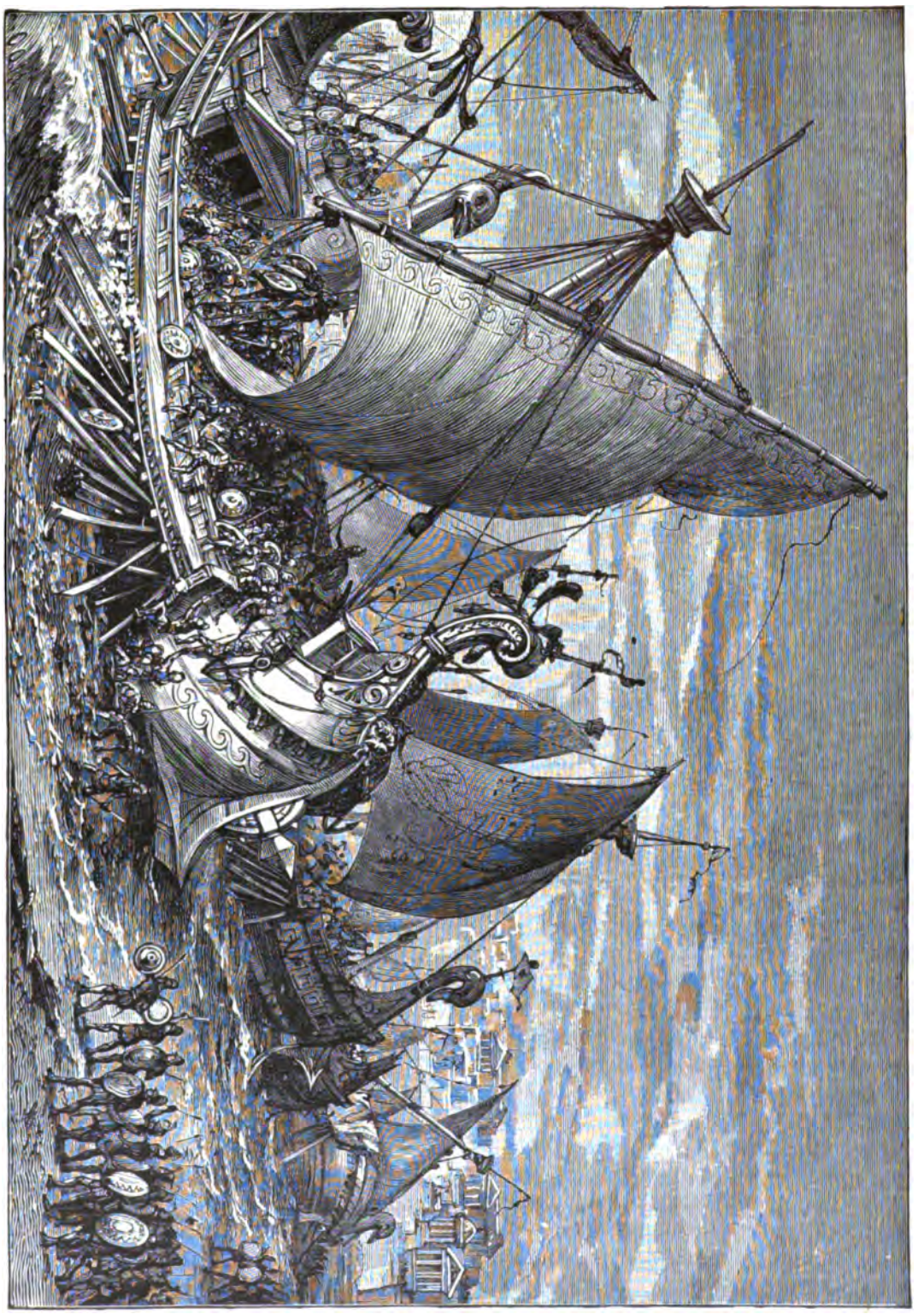
With the spring, the siege of Syracuse began. The city lay upon a peninsula between the Great and Little harbors. On the land side it was defended by a wall, and the sea-front was protected by the nature of the ground and by fortifications. In the northern suburbs of the city, however, was a high ground called Epipolæ, and of this the Athenians succeeded in gaining possession. An attempt of the Syracusans to dislodge them was repulsed. Here Nicias constructed a fort, and the siege was pressed by both sea and land.

In the mean time Lamachus had died, and the whole command devolved upon Nicias, who was inferior to his colleague in energy. By this time the Syracusans became discouraged and made overtures of surrender: but Nicias, overconfident of success, paid little attention to the proposals and continued the siege. At this juncture, however, Gylippus, the Spartan general, arrived with a small squadron in the bay of Tarentum. Thence he proceeded to Himera, and, publishing to the people that other forces from his country would soon arrive, he gathered an army of three thousand men and marched to the relief of Syracuse. He succeeded in passing the heights of Epipolæ, and entered the city without opposition. Having effected a junction with the Syracusans, he sent an audacious message to Nicias, allowing him five days to gather his effects and leave Sicily.

It would have been well if Nicias had taken the advice of his enemy, for the latter very soon turned the tide of success against the Athenians. The Syracusans in their turn captured and fortified the heights of Epipolæ. Nor was it long—such was the activity of Gylippus—until the Athenians were put into the attitude of a besieged rather than a besieging army. Nicias fell sick and asked to be recalled. Instead of complying with this request, however, the Athenians sent out additional troops under command of Demosthenes and Eurymedon. The Spartans also reënforced their Sicilian army, and the Syracusans presently gave battle to the Athenian fleet.

The latter gained an indecisive victory, but while the battle was in progress, Gylippus made an assault upon some of the forts erected by Nicias and captured them, with large quantities of provisions. In a short time the Syracusans sailed boldly out into Great Harbor, and again gave battle to the fleet. This time the Athenian squadron was routed, and the remnant of the ships was only saved from destruction by being drawn to the shore under protection of the Athenian works.

At this juncture a new fleet of seventy-five vessels, carrying five thousand heavy-armed troops, arrived from Athens. Demosthenes, the commander, immediately made an



THE NAVAL BATTLE IN THE HARBOR OF SYRACUSE

attempt to take Epipolæ, but was repulsed. He then urged Nicias to withdraw from his dangerous position in Great Harbor and retire to Thapsus; but just as this movement was about to begin an eclipse of the moon occurred, and the seers declared that the fleet must not leave its moorings for a lunar month.[1] Their decision was complied with, and the Syracusans, learning how matters stood, determined to make a league with superstition and destroy the foe before the next full moon. They accordingly blocked up the mouth of Great Harbor with a cordon of galleys. So the Athenian squadron of one hundred and ten triremes was cooped up, with no opportunity of escape except by battle.

It was, however, resolved to break through at all hazards. Accordingly, on an appointed morning, the fleet of Nicias loosed its moorings and proceeded to the attack. Nearly the whole population of the city lined the shores of the bay. The larger part of the Athenian land-forces were put on board of the ships, and the remainder looked on from the fortifications. The attack was directed first against the line of galleys by which the mouth of the harbor was blockaded. But the latter held their position. Presently the whole armament on both sides was engaged, and for some time the battle hung dubiously between the combatants. Then the Athenians began to give way. Nearly a half of their vessels were destroyed, and the rest driven back to the protection of the shore. The victory was in every respect complete and overwhelming.

The Athenians were still about forty thousand strong. As soon as the battle was decided, they determined, if possible, to escape from their perilous position. The only course remaining was a retreat overland to the shelter of some friendly town, where they might defend themselves until succored by reinforcements. But instead of taking advantage of the confusion of the first night after his defeat, Nicias waited till the next; and the Syracusans thus found time to gather and fall upon the retreating column. In the attempt to reach the coast, Demosthenes, who commanded the rear division, was cut off, and after fighting until his forces were greatly reduced, was obliged to surrender. Finally, Gylippus overtook Nicias, who, with the army, now numbering no more than ten thousand men, was still struggling to gain the coast. Arriving at the river Erineus, they attempted to cross, but the enemy crowded them down the banks and into the stream. All hope was abandoned. The army became a disorganized mass and was forced to surrender at discretion. The remainder of the fleet had been given up at the beginning of the retreat. Not a vestige remained. No such complete destruction of an army and squadron had ever been known. The prisoners were sent to work in the stone-quarries, where, huddled together, driven to their tasks without sufficient food, and exposed to the elements, they soon began to die of exhaustion and pestilence, until the survivors sickened and fell over the bodies of the dead. All were enslaved except the Athenians and the Sicilian Greeks. Among these were many men of culture and refinement; and a tradition recites that not a few of these gained the esteem of their masters by enacting for them the plays of the Greek dramatists. Demosthenes and Nicias were both condemned to death, the only favor shown them being the concession of suicide instead of a public execution.

Soon after the appalling disaster just recorded, the news was carried into Athens by a barber of Piræus. So incredible appeared his story that the authorities put him to the torture. Presently, however, straggling fugitives began to arrive with confirmation of the awful intelligence. The Athenians were first furious and then gave themselves up to despair. It was seen at a glance that no power could much longer prevent the capture of the city by the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless the authorities began to bestir themselves for the public defense. It was, however, the misfortune of the city of Athens that military success was constantly necessary to preserve the loyalty of her dependent cities and islands. Whenever the tide turned against her, these dependencies would not only abandon her interests, but enter into leagues for her destruction.

[1] This eclipse occurred August 27, B. C. 413.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ATHENIAN ARMY IN SICILY.
Drawn by H. Vogel

In the present emergency the first to revolt was the island of Chios. The insurrection was instigated by Alcibiades, who, now residing at Sparta, lost no opportunity to inflict on his country some humiliating injury. He crossed over in person to the island, and aided the insurgents in overthrowing the party favorable to Athens. The islands of Zeos and Lesbos and the city of Miletus followed the example of Chios; and the Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor were given up by a treaty with Tissaphernes to their masters, the Persians. Samos, however, remained faithful to the Athenians. The oligarchy in that island was suppressed, and Samos became a kind of stronghold of Athenian influence in the Ægean.

In the mean time, Athens began to recover from her overthrow. The reserve of one thousand talents which had lain undisturbed in the Acropolis since the administration of Pericles, was now voted by the assembly to be used in the construction of a fleet. When this was completed, an expedition was fitted out against Chios, and that island was rapidly overrun and restored to its former relations. A victory was also gained over the Lacedæmonian squadron at Miletus, but that city still remained under the control of the Persians. The Spartans soon prepared another armament so powerful in numbers and equipment that its ability to overcome all opposition could not be reasonably questioned.

Alcibiades, in the mean time, from his long-continued duplicity, had gained the distrust and aversion of the Spartan government. The Ephors first denounced him as a traitor and then condemned him to death, but he escaped the penalty by fleeing to the court of Tissaphernes. He at once set about to persuade the satrap to adopt a new line of policy with regard to the Greek states. The wily Greek soon convinced him that the interest of Persia required that the Grecian commonwealths should be allowed to wear each other out in mutual conflicts to the end that the Great King might absorb the fragments into his empire. It was this influence aided by bribery that prevented the activity of the Spartan squadron. Persia was thus won over to favor the Athenian cause. The real purpose of Alcibiades was to get himself restored to his country. He communicated with the Athenian generals at Samos, and made it appear that he was able to secure a Persian alliance and would gladly do so on condition of his own restoration, and the substitution of an oligarchy for the democratic form of government in Athens. A proposition to this effect was brought forward in the assembly by Pisander. The democracy was furious at the proposal; but the necessity of the state was so great that a vote was procured in favor of the overthrow of the constitution of Clisthenes. Pisander was then dispatched at the head of an embassy to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes with respect to the proposed alliance; but when the ambassadors were received by the satrap, Alcibiades, speaking on his behalf and knowing his own inability to perform what he had promised, made such extravagant demands of his countrymen that they were obliged to break up the conference.

In the mean time oligarchical clubs were multiplied in Athens, and under their influence the democracy was subjected to a reign of terror. Assassination became the order of the day, and it was soon evident that the revolution in the government would be accomplished. Pisander, on his return from Asia proposed a committee of ten to draft a new constitution. The instrument when produced provided first for the overthrow of the existing magistrates; secondly, for the abolition of all official salaries; thirdly, for the appointment of a council of Four Hundred, with whom the principal functions of governments should be lodged; and fourthly, for the limitation of the right of suffrage to a body of five thousand citizens. The revolution was completed by force. The old senate was ejected by the Four Hundred, who were installed in the ancient seats of authority. Then followed proscriptions and confiscations. The principal leaders of the democracy were assassinated. The next movement was to send an embassy to Sparta with overtures for peace; but Agis, the king, preferred to compel a settlement on his own terms. He accordingly made an attempt to capture Athens,

out being foiled, he concluded to enter into negotiations with the Athenians.

It was one of the peculiarities of this stormy period in Greek history that the democracy, which had been overthrown in its original stronghold, was still upheld in Samos. The army now in that island, led by Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, remained loyal to the old institutions of Athens. It was through the influence of these leaders that Alcibiades, who was now on the side of democracy, but always on the side of himself, was elected one of the generals of the army. That distinguished patriot began at once to magnify his office by passing to and fro in the assumed character of an ambassador between Asia and continental Greece. Thus would he induce the belief among his democratic countrymen that he was busy with the construction of the Perso-Athenian alliance.

As soon as the Four Hundred heard of the condition of affairs in Samos they sent thither an embassy to explain the change in the government and to demand the acceptance of the same by the people. The envoys were met with disdain both by the citizens and soldiery. A proposition had already been made in the army to proceed against Athens and overthrow the usurpers, and but for the influence of the more dispassionate there is no doubt that such a movement would have been undertaken. As it was the ambassadors were dismissed with ill-disguised contempt. They were told that the Four Hundred must surrender their places, and that the old Senate must be restored as conditions precedent to the maintenance of peace.

Already in Athens there were symptoms of an anti-oligarchic revolution. The extreme leaders under the new *régime* had gone to the length of proposing that a Spartan garrison should be established in Piræus. The Lacedæmonians, however, did not fall in with this scheme, but sent a fleet to cruise in the neighboring waters, until a more favorable season. In the mean time the democracy gained constantly, and in a short time an assembly was held at Piræus by which the old forms of government were again instituted.

About this time a revolt broke out in Eubœa, instigated by the Spartans and supported by their fleet. Athens was astounded to learn that her greatest and nearest dependency had renounced her friendship and assumed her freedom. An Athenian fleet hastily sent to the rescue was attacked and annihilated by the Lacedæmonian squadron. Athens was thus left naked to her enemies. The popular voice clamored in the streets, and an assembly was called in the Pnyx. A vote was passed by which the Four Hundred were deposed and the Senate reïnstated in its ancient authority. The old constitution was restored in all of its features, except that the restriction by which the right of suffrage was limited to five thousand citizens was allowed to stand. Those who had participated in the late oligarchy were permitted to leave Athens or to hide themselves in obscurity. Only two of the leaders, Antiphon and Archiptolemus, were condemned and executed, and a few others were punished by the confiscation of their property, or the destruction of their houses. In a short time the office of archon was recreated, and this was followed by a vote recalling Alcibiades and his friends from exile.

In the conduct of the war the next important movement was a naval battle between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians in the strait between Sestos and Abydos. The former were victorious, and set up a trophy on the headland of Cynossema, from which place the battle takes its name. The Spartan squadron, now lying at Eubœa, hearing of the disaster which had overtaken their friends, sailed for the Hellespont, but while doubling Mount Athos the fleet was caught in a storm and totally wrecked. The remnant of the other armament which had survived the battle was presently overtaken by Alcibiades, and only saved from total destruction by being drawn ashore, when the vessels were defended by the Persians. A short time afterwards, however, Mindarus was enticed to sea, attacked by the Athenian squadron, followed to the shore, and slain. Every Spartan ship was either taken or destroyed. The victory was so decisive as to recover for the Athenians the whole of the Propontis.

The Persians now actively aided the Lace-

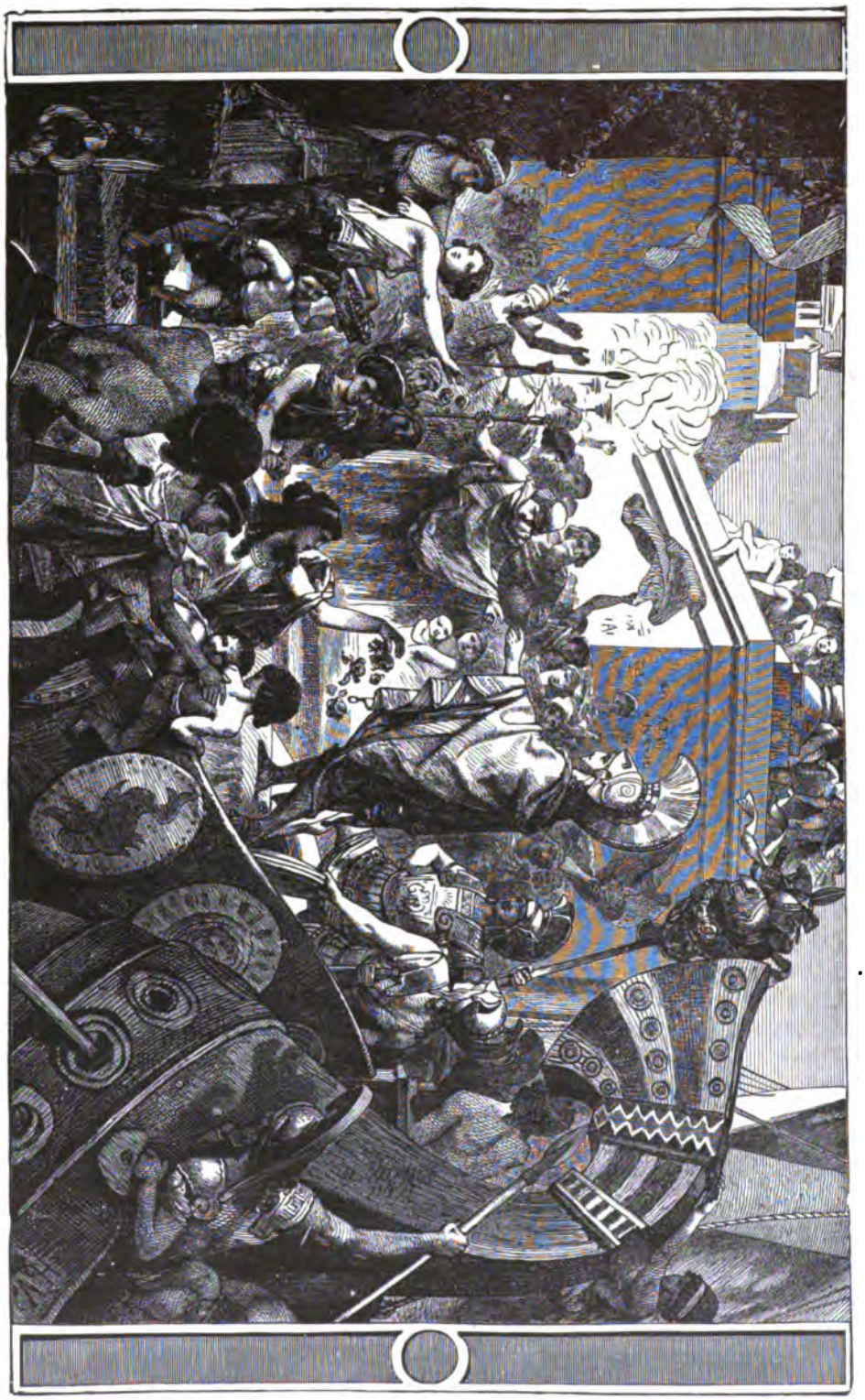
dæmonians, but the energy of the Athenian fleets, now directed by Alcibiades, secured, in the years B. C. 409 and 408, complete control of the Hellespontine countries. Until this time the banished Alcibiades had not returned to Attica. In the spring of B. C. 407 he determined to avail himself of his recall and make a public visit to Athens. He accordingly sailed for Piræus, where he was met by nearly the whole population of the city and escorted in triumph to the scene of his earliest career. Before the Senate and the Assembly he protested his innocence of the charges preferred against him, and the sentences of confiscation and banishment were unanimously revoked. As for himself, he now through policy gave great attention to the national superstitions, and publicly conducted the procession in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. In the following September he put to sea, and was presently worsted by the Lacedæmonian fleet in the battle of Notium. His conduct, moreover, became as reckless and dissolute as ever. The news of his proceedings was carried to Athens, and the good democracy of that city voted him out of command and gave his place to CONON.

Meanwhile, Callicratidas succeeded Lysander in the command of the Spartan squadron. He was a man of great energy, and soon diffused a new life in the moribund frame of his country. Shortly after assuming control of the fleet he gained a victory over the Athenians in the harbor of Mitylene, but Conon maintained his position until reënforcements arrived from Athens, and then took his station near the islands of Arginusæ, close to the coast of Asia Minor. Here the Spartans gave battle. The Athenian fleet numbered one hundred and fifty vessels, and the Lacedæmonian one hundred and twenty. The conflict was long and desperate. After losing seventy-seven ships and their brave commander, who was thrown overboard and drowned, the Spartans were disastrously defeated. The battle was followed, however, by an event which took away the spirit of the victors. Twelve of the Athenian ships, which were disabled during the fight, were through some carelessness left drifting helplessly with their crews of wounded and dying men until a sudden storm, swooping down upon them, sent the whole to the bottom of the sea.

The Athenians immediately summoned the commanding generals—except Conon, who had followed the remnant of the enemy's fleet to Mitylene—to answer for this neglect. Passion ran high, and in spite of the protest of Socrates and a few other cool-headed patriots, the assembly voted that the commanders should be put to death. They were accordingly compelled to drink the fatal hemlock. Among those who thus perished was the young Pericles, the promising son of the great statesman, and Aspasia.

After the death of Callicratidas the command of the Spartan fleet was again conferred on Lysander. He—after the year B. C. 405 had been mostly consumed in recuperating the squadron, and in negotiations with Cyrus the younger, now satrap of Asia Minor—laid siege to the Hellespontine town of Lampsacus. Thither he was followed by Conon, but the latter arrived too late to save the place from capture.

The Athenian fleet in September of B. C. 405 took its station at ÆGOSPOTAMI, or Goat River, on the opposite side of the channel from Lampsacus. The position was an exposed one, but the Athenians were over-confident, and for several days in succession they sailed into the open channel and offered battle to the Spartans. This, however, was declined. Lysander kept his forces in hand and waited his opportunity. Alcibiades, who now lived in a castle in the neighborhood, and was to all appearances out of politics, came down to his countrymen, and besought them to find a stronger position; but his precautions were treated with indifference. The Athenians scattered themselves about their camp and gave no further thought to the situation. On the fifth day of these dilatory proceedings, Lysander, having watched his opportunity, swooped down upon the Athenians while a large part of them were dispersed through the country, and inflicted upon them the most ruinous defeat of the whole war. Of the one hundred and eighty ships which composed the squadron only eight or ten succeeded in



RETURN OF ALCIBIADES TO ATHENS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

escaping. The remainder were either captured or destroyed. The prisoners, to the number of three or four thousand, including the generals—with the exception of Conon, who escaped and found a hiding-place in Cyprus—were condemned and put to death! The whole force was annihilated.

Athens was left without a shadow of defense, except what measures she could extemporize, against the coming doom. When the Paralus[1] arrived at Piræus and the news was known, there was universal despair. Xenophon declares that on that night no man slept. It was now a question of *existence* with her who had so long been mistress of the sea. Two out of the three harbors of the city were blocked up in the vain hope of defending the third. Lysander was in no haste. The Athenian supplies from the Euxine were wholly cut off, and from afar Famine and Sparta both lifted a sword against the doomed city.

Beginning his progress towards the capital, Lysander compelled the garrisons of the various towns *en route* to quit their places and repair to Athens. In every city the democratic form of government was overthrown, and an oligarchy, consisting of ten members with a Spartan *Harmost* at the head, appointed in its stead. In their desperation, the people of Athens gathered in an assembly and voted a general amnesty. The prisons were opened, and all except a few of the worst criminals were liberated. Then the oligarchic and democratic factions swore an oath of mutual forgiveness, and agreed henceforth to labor only for the common weal.

Finally, Lysander made his appearance. With a fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys he landed at Ægina, and then proceeded to blockade Piræus. Salamis was ravaged by the army, which marched without opposition to the very gates of Athens. Inside the walls, however, determination was mixed with despair, and the first proposals made to them by the Spartans were rejected. The people began to die of hunger, and yet Archestratus was imprisoned for proposing to accept the proffered terms. After three months of dreadful suffering, the spirit of the people was at last completely broken, and Theramenes was sent to Sparta to conclude with the Ephors the best treaty which they would grant.

The states in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, more particularly Corinth and Thebes, insisted that the very name of Athens should be blotted out, and the residue of her population sold into slavery; but the Spartans themselves interfered to prevent so brutal a proceeding. One of the Ephors even ventured on a figure of speech, and declared that Sparta would never consent that one of the eyes of Greece should be put out. Still the terms were sufficiently severe and humiliating. The Long Walls of Athens should be thrown down. The fortifications of the Piræus and Phalerum should be razed. The territorial limits of the Athenians should be contracted to Attica. All foreign possessions should be given up. All ships of war should be surrendered. All exiles should be unconditionally restored. The Athenians should become the allies of the Spartans. These terms, hard as they were, were immediately accepted by the assembly, and it only remained for the Athenians to comply with the conditions.

The winter had now worn away. In March of B. C. 404, the city was formally surrendered. It was the last act in a war which, through every grade of ferocity, had continued for twenty-seven years. Lysander at once proceeded to exact the fulfillment of the terms of the treaty. The dock-yards were burned and the arsenals destroyed. All the Athenian galleys except twelve were sent to Sparta. Then came the demolition of the fortifications. It was no light task, for the works were of great solidity and massiveness. The overthrow of the Long Walls was a task tedious and difficult. But the Spartans, in mockery, converted the work into a festival! Bands of flute-players and dancers wreathed with flowers accompanied the workmen, and as the heavy stones were pried from their beds and cast down, shout after shout echoed the downfall of Athenian glory. Nor did the demolition cease until not one stone was left upon another. She who, by the splendor of

[1] The *Paralus* was the commander's galley in an Athenian fleet, corresponding to the flag-ship in a modern navy.

her genius, had diffused a lustrous light into the abodes of barbarism, was left naked to her enemies—a pitiable spectacle of wretchedness and despair.

As soon as the Spartans had completed their work and the dismantled city was left to herself, there was a revival of faction. The oligarchic minority was reënforced by the return of many exiles who owed their banishment to democratic votes. Among these the most prominent character was CRITIAS, the uncle of Plato. He, with Theramenes, having organized clubs and perfected arrangements for a revolution, invited Lysander to return from Samos, whither he had gone after the capitulation of Athens, and aid by his presence and influence in the contemplated *coup d' état* by which an oligarchy was to be established over the Athenians. A proposition was then made in the assembly that a committee of thirty members be appointed to revise the constitution and provide for the future government of the city. Lysander himself addressed the assembly, and informed them that their personal safety depended upon an affirmative vote. Of course it was so recorded. Critias and Theramenes headed the list of committeemen, who were henceforth known as the Thirty Tyrants.

It will be remembered that Samos showed herself to be the last stronghold of Greek democracy. This island was accordingly invaded by Lysander, after the conquest of Attica had been completed, and, like the mother state, was soon driven to submission. This was the completion of the work of the Lacedæmonian fleet in the Ægean. As soon as terms of surrender had been accepted and the government settled on a new basis satisfactory to Lysander, he sailed for Sparta. No other general of those hitherto sent out by the Ephors had ever returned so completely victorious. He brought home the spoils and figure-heads of all the ships which he had taken. The booty was enormous, and besides what he had taken by force he turned over to the treasury four hundred and seventy talents which had been given him by the Persians for the prosecution of the war.

In Athens the Thirty proceeded to organize a reign of terror. Butchery was the order of the day. Sometimes there was a formal condemnation of the accused; sometimes there was none. The newly appointed senators—mere tools of the Tyrants—were required in voting to deposit their pebbles openly on a table in front of their masters—this on questions of life and death! Bands of assassins were hired to complete the work of exterminating the democracy. At the last a proscription list was made out, and the adherents of the Thirty were permitted to insert therein what names soever they pleased.

The object became plunder rather than political vengeance. No such scenes had ever before been witnessed in Athens. Neither rank nor virtue was spared. The orator Lysias and his brother Polemarchus were among the condemned. Theramenes, refusing to participate in the diabolical business, was himself denounced by Critias in the senate-house, and though clinging to an altar was dragged away to execution. When given the cup of hemlock he swallowed the draught, threw a drop of the poison on the floor, and exclaimed, "Here's a health to the gentle Critias." It was amid such scenes that the liberties of Greece went out in darkness.

It was in the midst of these proscriptions, but not by means of them, that Alcibiades met his fate. From his castle in Thracian Chersonesus he had watched the downfall of Athens and the progress of the oligarchical revolution. When the proscription began he became apprehensive of danger, and with good reason, for the Thirty had already included his name in a list of the condemned. Sacrificing a great part of his property, he fled for safety, with as much of his wealth as he could carry with him, to the court of Pharnabazus, satrap of Phrygia. From him he sought the privilege of continuing his flight to Susa, where he thought to play the same part with Darius that Themistocles had played with Artaxerxes. But Pharnabazus refused him conduct through the province, and in the meantime Lysander sent a dispatch to the satrap to have the Athenian put to death. Acting under this order, a band of assassins set fire to the house of Alcibiades

and stood ready to cut him down. With unflinching courage he seized his sword and rushed forth upon the dastards; but before he could reach them they pierced him through with their javelins. Thus, in a foreign land and unfriended, save by the woman Timandra, who remained faithful to him until his death, and performed alone for her brilliant and eccentric lord the rites of sepulture, perished the famous Alcibiades, who, but for a certain want of principle, which was indeed but the common vice of his countrymen, would have been one of the greatest Greeks of his age.

DEATH OF ALCIBIADES.

It was a part of the strange, bad temper of the Hellenic states that they always turned against the strongest. Sparta was now, after the complete humiliation—almost extinction—of her rival, destined to feel the force of this law. A reäction took place in the Greek mind unfavorable alike to the Lacedæmonians and their leaders. Lysander himself, after a career of unparalleled popularity, power, and honor became, in the course of a single year, an object of suspicion and hatred. Even Thebes and Corinth turned their sympathies to the fallen Athens. A band of Athenian exiles, temporarily domiciled in Bœotia, found a leader in THRASYBULUS, seized the fortress of Phylé, and bade defiance to the oligarchy. The Thirty marched out with a force of Spartans and native cavalry, but were several times repulsed. Nor was it certain but that the troops whom they commanded, at least such of them as were Athenian born, sympathized with Thrasybulus rather than with their masters. Encouraged by his success and the manifestations of public support, the Greek patriot abandoned Phylé and seized Piræus. A large force was immediately sent against him, and a severe battle was fought, in which the army of the Thirty was completely routed. Among the best trophies of the field was the dead body of Critias, who was killed in the engagement.

The death of this unprincipled tyrant threw the government into the hands of the more moderate of the oligarchical party, and a new revolution was effected, by which the Thirty were deposed, and a council of Ten appointed

in their stead. Such were the mutterings of discontent that the new governors felt constrained to call upon PAUSANIAS, the Spartan king, for assistance. The latter at the head of an army marched into Attica, and had several indecisive combats with Thrasybulus. But a desire for peace now pervaded all parties. Pausanias himself was at enmity with Lysander, and for this reason was less severe in determining the terms of settlement. With singular liberality, considering the circumstances, it was agreed that the Athenian exiles now under the banner of Thrasybulus should be unconditionally re-admitted to Athens, and as for the rest full amnesty should be granted to all except the Thirty and the Ten.

As soon as this settlement was agreed to, Thrasybulus and the exiles returned in triumph to the city. There was a universal revival of democracy. An assembly was immediately convened, and a complete undoing of the work of the oligarchy was determined on. The whole field where tyranny had so long cultivated her brambles was plowed up to the subsoil and harrowed to a level. The laws of Solon and Draco were revised by a committee and adopted by the assembly and the Senate.[1] The old *régime* was revived in every part, and every effort was made by the new government to obliterate forever from public memory and the records of the state the history and infamy of the recent tyrannies of the Thirty and the Ten.

It was at this juncture that SOCRATES, greatest spirit of the pagan world, was arrested and brought to his death. He fell a victim to superstition. As early as B. C. 423 he had been attacked—but not with great bitterness—by Aristophanes, in the comedy of the *Clouds*. From this, however, he rallied and continued his teaching. For twenty-four years he disseminated his views on those subjects concerning which men have always felt the deepest interest. Towards the close of the fifth century he fell under the suspicion of heterodoxy in the matter of the national religion. Nor is it likely that his resolute and glorious genius did tamely bow to the absurdities which he as a teacher was expected to uphold and honor. In B. C. 399 an open accusation was brought against him by three fellows whose base spirits were fit for nothing else—Meletus, a seller of leather; Anytus, a third-rate poet; and Lycon, a bad rhetorician.

This trio charged the philosopher before the assembly with neglecting the worship of the gods, with introducing new deities, and also with corrupting the youth of the city. Socrates said little in defense, but rather provoked his fate by a bold avowal of his principles. A small majority was obtained against him. Even then by the use of means within his reach he might have escaped death, but with lofty disdain he allowed the bigotry of his countrymen to take its course, and he was sentenced to drink the hemlock. He told his judges that instead of being put to death he ought to be supported at public expense to teach in the Prytaneum! He would neither retract, nor modify, nor explain, but stood like a Titan at bay.

The sacred vessel which had just gone to the annual festival at Delos, until the return of which it was unlawful to put any one to death, did not again reach the city for thirty days. During the interval Socrates remained in prison. Nor was his manner of life much changed from what it was before his condemnation. He continued to converse with his friends. He refused to escape when the means were afforded of his doing so. He spoke cheerfully of his death and of his hope of immortality. It was the custom of the Greeks when one recovered from sickness to sacrifice a cock to Æsculapius. When the last hour came and the cup of hemlock was calmly drained, the philosopher said to his friend Crito who stood with other comrades beside him: "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius; discharge the debt, and by no means omit it." Thus was eclipsed the sublimest genius of antiquity.

[1] It was in the inscription of these revised statutes of Athens on the walls of the Pœcilé Stoa that the full Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters was for the first time publicly employed. Its use for some time previously had been common among the Athenian scholars, but for the public acts of the government the old Attic alphabet of sixteen or eighteen letters had always been hitherto used.

But his work survived. The teachings of Socrates can never fail to interest and instruct the seeker after truth. Every enlightened age will drink from the exhaustless fountain of his wisdom. The enunciation of his doctrines marked an epoch, not only in the ethics of Greece, but in the morality of the human race. His contribution to the wisdom of mankind was greater than that which any other philosopher has brought into the store-house of ages. The breadth and profundity of his understanding, his sturdy defense of the truth, his generous nature, his masterful grasp of the greatest themes, his honest assaults on error, and the pungent speech and dramatic method in which his immortal aphorisms are set before us,—all conspire to stamp him as the loftiest genius of the ancient world.

Socrates turned the mind of man from idle speculation to practical ethics—from vagaries to morals. His theme was human conduct. He sought to impress upon his hearers a conviction of the barrenness of those speculative systems in which the Greek so much delighted. He would reduce the current beliefs to an absurdity. His weapon was dialogue; his method, interrogation. His antagonist—real or imaginary - was a Sophist whose propositions were admitted only to be quickly ground into dust under a *reductio ad absurdum*.

LAST HOURS OF SOCRATES—After the painting by David.

Woe to the fallacy-monger who fell into the power of this inexorable and humane giant! The world beholds him yet, and will ever behold him as he sits among his companions and delivers to them his immortal sayings. His magnificent, ugly face; his tremendous head; his beetling brows, and eyes that darted their Promethean fire into the soul of mystery and scorched the wings of falsehood - it is Socrates, whom Plato and Xenophon have pictured, whom hemlock could not kill.

CHAPTER XLVII.—SPARTAN AND THEBAN ASCENDENCIES.

HAT has been called the SPARTAN SUPREMACY in Grecian history may be dated from the battle of Ægospotami, in B. C. 405. That conflict decided the fate of Athens, and there was none other of the Hellenic states at all able to compete either on land or sea with the Lacedæmonians. The latter, therefore, as if by right, assumed the mastery of Greece, and for a while her dominion was as unlimited as it was arbitrary.

Among her first acts was the punishment of certain states that had in some way injured her interests or insulted her pride. The Eleans had on a certain occasion excluded the Spartans from participation in the Olympic games, and more recently had refused permission to King Agis to offer sacrifices in the temple of Zeus. The inclination of Elis to the democratic rather than the oligarchic form of government was especially distasteful to the Lacedæmonians, who now determined to regulate the affairs of their western neighbors and punish them for previous misconduct.

In B. C. 402 Agis began a campaign against Elis, but was stopped by his superstition. An earthquake aroused his fears, and the expedition was postponed until the following year. With the ensuing summer, however, the campaign was again undertaken. The allies, even including a body of Athenians, joined the expedition, and the Eleans were soon reduced to submission. The pious Agis performed his sacrifices and dictated the terms of peace.

In the mean time, Lysander, now a private but ostentatious citizen of Sparta, became a source of trouble in that state. His ambition had grown with what it fed on, and he contemplated no less than a revolution of the government, by which he hoped to have Agis set aside and himself made king. To this end he consulted the oracles of Zeus at Dodona and at Ammon, in distant Libya, as well as that of Apollo at Delphi; but, though he used the persuasive power of money, the answers were adverse to his schemes. He succeeded, however, in getting Leotychides, the eldest son of Agis, set aside, on the ground that he was an illegitimate son of Alcibiades. But AGESILAUS, a younger son, born of another mother, obtained the throne, and soon became a popular and efficient ruler. A conspiracy was organized against him on the ground of his lameness, an old oracle having warned the Spartans to beware "of a lame reign." But Lysander, hoping to use the new king for his own purposes, explained that a lame *reign* and a lame *king* were two very different things; so the insurrection was suppressed, and the leaders put to death.

Nearly all the states of Greece were now subject to Sparta. The system of government, established through the agency of Lysander in the dependencies, was that of the *Decarchy*, or Council of Ten, under the leadership of a Spartan *Harmost*, or governor. It was essentially a tyranny, and the Lacedæmonian supremacy, which was based thereon, contained no element of strength or perpetuity. There was, moreover, in the present state of affairs a certain inconsistency which weakened the Spartan authority. The state had fought through the whole of the Peloponnesian wars for the ostensible purpose of liberating Greece from the dominion of Athens. What good to substitute the dominion of Sparta? On the whole, the Greek mind sympathized with the Ionian race and the democratic tendencies of the Athenians rather than with the austere Dorians and their oligarchy.

Meanwhile, a stirring drama had been enacted in Asia Minor. The conspiracy of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes had gathered head and broken into nothing at the battle of Cunaxa. The part

which the Spartans bore in the great campaign, their heroism in the battle, their escape from the clutches of the Persians, their celebrated retreat and return into Europe, have already been recounted in the History of Persia.[1]

As soon as the great expedition had collapsed, the satrapy held by Cyrus was conferred on Tissaphernes. The latter began his administration by attacking the Ionian cities, and the Spartans were obliged to send out an army under Dercyllidas for their protection. After holding his own for a year and gaining some advantages over the Persians, he was confronted by Pharnabazus, who secured the services of Conon the Athenian as commander of a fleet to operate against the Lacedæmonians.

King Agesilaüs himself went to Asia, in B. C. 396, and took command of the Peloponnesian army. After wintering at Ephesus he advanced upon Sardis and won a victory over Tissaphernes on the banks of the Pactolus. The latter was soon afterwards put to death at the instance of Parysatis, who still proved herself to be the mother of mischief as well as of Artaxerxes. The satrapy of Lydia was transferred to Tithraustes, and he soon induced Agesilaüs to withdraw into the country of his friend Pharnabazus, satrap of Phrygia. The latter had always had the confidence of the Spartans, and he now protested with the king in such manly terms that the latter was induced to withdraw to Thebé, on the gulf of Elæus; and from that place he was erelong obliged to repair to Sparta to protect his own country from impending dangers.

For, in the mean time, the energies of Conon, backed by Persian gold, had brought into existence and equipped a fleet superior to that of the Lacedæmonians. The appearance of this armament in the western waters had the effect to incite in the island of Rhodes a democratic insurrection by which the oligarchy had been suppressed. Afterwards, in August of B. C. 394, the allied squadron of Sparta and Phœnicia was overtaken at the peninsula of Cnidus, in Caria, and defeated with a loss of more than half of the armament. The effect of these successes of the enemies of Sparta was such as further to weaken her hold upon her dependent states and to hasten the day of the overthrow of her power.

About this time Timocrates, a prominent Rhodian, was dispatched to the leading Greek cities, well supplied with Persian gold, to induce a revolt against the Lacedæmonians. Thebes, Corinth, and Argos were all induced by his arguments to renounce the Spartan alliance, and hostilities were almost immediately begun. A quarrel occurred between the Locrians and Phocians respecting the ownership of a narrow strip of territory, and the former appealed to Thebes for aid. The Phocians on their part called on the Spartans for help, and the latter at once responded in full force under Lysander himself. After devastating the Phocian territory he proceeded to attack the town of Haliartus, where the insurgents were posted; but the latter made a desperate sally, defeated the Lacedæmonians and killed Lysander. In the following night, so complete was the Theban victory, the invaders disbanded, and left the country. A few days afterwards, when Pausanias, who expected to join Lysander at Haliartus, arrived, he found only the unburied Spartan dead of the recent battle. He was forced by the actual peril of the situation to accept the terms prescribed by the Thebans and withdraw to his own home. The victorious insurgents followed in his rear and virtually drove him beyond the border. Afraid to return to Sparta, the king found a hiding-place in the temple of Athene, at Tegea, and being condemned to death was obliged to save himself by remaining at the altar of the protecting goddess.

The effect of this decisive reversal of fortune was to strengthen and encourage the enemies of Spartan rule. Athens, Thebes, Corinth, and Argos now entered into a formal league against the Lacedæmonians. The Eubœans, the Ozolian Locrians, the Acarnanians, the Ambracians, the Leucadians, and the Thracian Chalcidicians were presently added to the alliance, which now made no

[1] See Book Sixth, pp. 367-369.

concealment of its purpose of open war. In the beginning of B. C. 394, the allies gathered at the isthmus of Corinth and bade defiance to the Peloponnesians. It was at this juncture that the Spartan Ephors, becoming with good reason more anxious for the safety of the country than for foreign conquest, recalled Agesilaüs from Asia Minor to defend his own dominions.

The Spartans rallied for the conflict with unusual energy. They advanced by way of Mantinea to Sicyon, where they were confronted by the allies, twenty-four thousand strong. The latter, however, fell back to the more defensible country in the immediate vicinity of Corinth. Here was fought a severe battle, in which the Spartans won an indecisive victory.

In the mean time Agesilaüs had left Asia Minor, and was approaching by the old Thracian route marked out by Xerxes. He was joined *en route* by the Ten Thousand Greeks, who were now making their way homewards from the Euxine. After reaching Phocis, Agesilaüs heard of the defeat and death of Pisander at the battle of Cnidus, but he concealed the news from the army. On the plain of CORONEA he was confronted by the allied army. The Thebans, who led the advance, made a headlong charge and broke the opposing lines, but in other parts of the field the Spartans were victorious. The Thebans turned about and fought their way back to their friends in one of the most desperate hand-to-hand conflicts recorded in Grecian history. Though the field remained to Agesilaüs, his success was so little decisive that the only mark of defeat on the side of the allies was their petition for the privilege to bury the dead. After the battle the Spartan king at once made his way into Peloponnesus, where he was received with great joy by the alarmed Lacedæmonians and their allies. In the three battles which had been recently fought, two on land and one at sea—Corinth, Coronea, Cnidus—the naval engagement had been especially disastrous to the Spartans, while the land conflicts had given them no decided advantage. On the sea, Conon and Pharnabazus, acting in concert, were sweeping every thing before them, and the Spartan dominion in the Ægean faded away more rapidly than it had been acquired by the battle of Ægospotami.

In the year B. C. 393, the allied fleet, having completed its work among the islands, bore down upon Greece. Presently the strange spectacle was witnessed of a friendly *Persian* armament lying in the harbor of Piræus! Pharnabazus, in his intense dislike of the Spartans, assented heartily to the plans of his colleague, Conon, who took advantage of the situation to secure the resurrection of Athens. The gold of Persia was freely used in the work of restoring the walls and fortifications of the city. Nor was the hearty aid given to this enterprise by the Thebans—at whose instance Athens had been dismantled and destroyed—a less conspicuous example of the mutability of parties among the Greeks. By the assistance thus lent by her former enemies most bitter and unrelenting, the capital city of Attica again assumed her place, and though shorn of her renown and glory, was soon a scene of busy life and ambitious projects.

The whole brunt of the war now fell on Corinth. The allies, attempting to penetrate Peloponnesus by way of the isthmus, were resisted by the Spartans, who from their headquarters at Sicyon ravaged the country along the gulf at will. They finally broke down a considerable portion of the long walls by which the city of Corinth was connected with her seaport of Lechæum, and also gained a victory over those who tried to prevent the demolition. An army of carpenters and masons was soon sent out from Athens, and the walls were quickly rebuilt; but Agesilaüs, by the aid of his brother Teleutias, who commanded the fleet, gained possession of Lechæum, and rendered the barricades of no further use to the city. Corinth herself was driven to the verge of capitulation, and a company of Thebans, who came as an embassy to sue for peace, were treated with insult and contempt by the king, who was now confident of his ability to inflict a complete discomfiture upon his enemies.

Just at this juncture an unexpected turn occurred in the relations of the parties.

Hitherto the important wing of a Greek army had always consisted of the *hoplites*, or heavy-armed soldiers. The *peltastæ*, or troops of light armor, had ever been regarded as of but secondary importance in battles. It was considered the business of the peltasts to skirmish—to annoy and distract the enemy rather than actually to beat him from the field or into the dust. That work was reserved for the hoplites, who came to the death grapple and were the actual combatants—the determining force of a Greek army.

Some of the allied forces in Corinth were at the time referred to under command of the Athenian IPHICRATES. For two years he had been engaged in the training of a body of peltasts with a view to making them more formidable in battle. For the coat-of-mail worn by the hoplites he substituted a linen corselet, which did not impede the freedom of the body. He lessened the weight and diameter of the shield. The length of the javelin and short sword hitherto carried by the peltast was increased one half. The new tactics laid stress upon rapidity of evolution in the field rather than upon the mere momentum of the column.

Having got his corps well disciplined, Iphicrates succeeded in several unimportant engagements in inflicting considerable injury upon the enemy. An opportunity now offered to test the value of the new service on a more extensive scale. A body of hoplites from Amycla, desiring to participate in a festival at home, were escorted by a division of Spartans, also hoplites; and when the latter were returning, Iphicrates, with what appeared to all a piece of reckless audacity, drew out his corps of peltasts, and gave them battle.

The conflict grew sharp and then furious. The heavy-armed Spartans began to fall on every side under the assaults of their more active and less encumbered assailants. They were bewildered at the novel and dangerous onsets of the new soldiery. After a large part of their number had been cut down without ability on their part to inflict much injury in return, they broke and fled. They were pursued, decimated, driven into the sea. The effect was such that Agesilaüs withdrew from before Corinth and returned in a very humble plight to Sparta. Iphicrates thereupon sallied forth and retook nearly all the towns in the eastern and northern districts of Corinth.

The Spartans, now thoroughly alarmed by the successes of the allies, and especially by the exposure of their coast to the ravages of Conon's fleet, liable at any moment to drop upon them, concluded that it was time for peace. They accordingly opened negotiations by sending ANTALCIDAS, their best diplomatist, to the court of Tiribazus, who had succeeded Tithraustes as satrap of Ionia. For the time, however, the ambassador was unsuccessful. The representatives of the allies were able to thwart his efforts, although Tiribazus was in hearty sympathy with the Spartan cause. It was at this juncture that, by the connivance of the satrap and the Persian court, Conon was seized—a perfidious act—and imprisoned. Though he soon afterwards made his escape and returned to his old refuge at the court of Evagoras in Cyprus, he never again took part in the public affairs of his country.

By this time Athens had sufficiently revived to send out a fleet of forty triremes to recover her possessions on the Hellespont. The command of the expedition was given to Thrasybulus, who had complete success in his mission. The Athenian authority was reëstablished, and the toll of ten per cent reïmposed on all vessels sailing out of the Euxine. After this work was accomplished, Thrasybulus sailed to Lesbos and deposed the Spartan governor of the island. Landing on the coast of Pamphylia, he began to lay contributions on the inhabitants; but the latter gathered a force, attacked his camp by night, and killed him. Like many another illustrious Greek who had served his country in the day of her need, he was doomed to perish in an ignominious way on the shore of a foreign land.

The attention of the Athenians was next called to the condition of affairs in the island of Ægina. It will be remembered that Lysander had restored the exiled Æginetans and reëstablished the oligarchy. Without sufficient resources to create a regular navy, the

people of the island began to fit out privateers to prey upon Athenian commerce. The Lacedæmonian commander, Teleutias, went to Ægina with a small squadron, and turned the attention of the buccaneers to an enterprise hardly less dangerous but somewhat more honorable. This was an attempt to capture Piræus. With a fleet of only twelve ships he sailed audaciously into the bay, landed his men on the quays, seized all the portable merchandise which was exposed about the warehouses, robbed most of the ships in the harbor, and sailed back to Ægina.

In the mean time Antalcidas, accompanied by the Ionian satrap Tiribazus, had made his way to the Persian court at Susa. The Great King was now more inclined than hitherto to favor the establishment of a general peace. After much negotiation the conditions were finally determined; and in B. C. 387 the ambassadors returned to Asia Minor to promulgate the terms of the treaty. The forces with which Antalcidas was now backed were so overwhelming, both by land and sea, as to render resistance well-nigh hopeless. Ambassadors from the Grecian states were invited to meet Tiribazus, and before them, under the royal seal of Persia, the treaty was delivered. It was couched in the following terms: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia and the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus should belong to him. He also thinks it just to leave all the other Grecian cities, both small and great, independent—except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as of old. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, both by land and sea, with ships and with money."

Such was the celebrated PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS, dictated, as it was, by an Asiatic monarch, the threats of whose ancestors had been laughed to scorn by the Greeks in the heroic days of old. Now, however, the conditions were tamely accepted by a degenerate race, whose resources had been consumed in internecine strife and whose patriotism had perished in the miserable heats of faction. The only incident in the acceptance of the treaty by the Greek states was that Thebes, instead of taking the oath in her own name only, persisted in swearing for the whole Bœotian confederacy, of which she claimed to be the head.

It was this assumption of something more than local independence on the part of the Thebans that gave to the Spartans their first excuse for interfering with the terms of the treaty. They accordingly insisted, at the earliest opportunity, that the other Bœotian cities, as well as Thebes herself, should be locally independent. These cities, with the exception of Orchomenus and Thespiæ, all preferred to remain in their present relations as members of the confederacy; but Sparta, determining to have her will by force, proceeded to establish garrisons in the two towns which favored her views, and at the same time undertook the resurrection of Platæa, in order to make the same a basis of her future operations in Central Greece. After the destruction of this place, as previously narrated, the Platæans who escaped destruction became domiciled in Athens, and by intermarriages were now distinguished only by tradition from the other inhabitants; but when their city was rebuilt, most of these descendants of the exiled families were induced to return. Thebes, meanwhile, looked on and witnessed these insulting proceedings without the present power to interfere.

As soon as this work was accomplished in the North, Sparta found time to settle an old grudge which she held against the town of Mantinea, in Arcadia. There was nothing more specific to be alleged against this place than that in the course of the Lacedæmonian wars the Mantineans had always been unfriendly, supplying encouragement to the enemies of Sparta and rejoicing in her misfortunes. Agesipolis was now dispatched to punish the spirit rather than the overt acts of Mantinea. When the city refused to demolish her walls, the Spartans dammed up the river Ophis until the back-water, rising against the bulwarks of sun-dried bricks, undermined them. The people were then obliged to surrender at discretion. All the fortifications were destroyed, and the city was

resolved into the five villages of which it was originally composed. Over each of these villages a petty oligarchy was established, and then the Lacedæmonians retired to their own place.

Meanwhile, the city of Olynthus, at the head of the Toronaic gulf, in the southernmost of the Chalcidician peninsulas, had become the center of a formidable confederacy. Nearly all the towns in that region, with the exception of Acanthus and Apollonia, had entered a league for the maintenance of their independence. But the two just named, being under the influence of oligarchies, and threatened with war by the confederate cities, appealed to Sparta for aid. Their ambassadors were supported by Amyntas of Macedon, and the Lacedæmonians were not hard to convince of the propriety of taking up arms against Olynthus. An army of ten thousand was at once put into the field, and two thousand of these were hurried to the North.

This advance force gained some advantages over the league, and Potidæa was won over to Sparta. When the remainder of the Lacedæmonian army, under the command of Phœbidas, was sent forward, it passed through Bœotia, and by a singular act of treachery gained possession of Thebes. The Thebans had joined the Olynthian alliance, and thus aggravated the existing animosity of the Spartans, but the latter concealed their purposes, and acting in conjunction with Leontiades, one of the Theban polemarchs, laid a plan to overthrow the government. It happened that at this time the festival of the Thesmophoria was celebrating in Thebes, and that in accordance with the custom the Cadmea or citadel, was given up to the women. While the city was thus in a defenseless condition, Phœbidas, pretending to continue his march, suddenly turned about, seized the Cadmea, arrested and put to death Ismenias, the popular leader, and compelled three hundred of his followers to fly for their lives.

The sequel of this audacious villainy was in keeping with the Spartan character. With profound duplicity the Ephors, *who had authorized the act*, now, in answer to the indignant voice of Greece, disavowed what Phœbidas had done and imposed on him a fine for his conduct. Then they restored him to his command, and were meanwhile careful to keep possession of the Cadmea!

Thebes, thus overrun, was obliged to enter into a Spartan alliance, and to furnish troops to assist in the prosecution of the Olynthian war. For four years (B. C. 383–379) the conflict was continued. Agesipolis died and was succeeded by Polybiades. The Spartans gradually gained on the allies until the latter were broken up. Olynthus was besieged, and after a long investment, was taken and dismantled. All the Macedonian towns which had been in rebellion against Amyntas were restored to his authority. The influence of the democratic states in the North, so necessary as a counterpoise to the growing power of Macedon, was destroyed, and the floodgates left open for the coming deluge.

For three years the city of Thebes remained in the hands of the Spartan confederates. The leaders of the democracy were living in exile in Athens. Chief among these was the wealthy young PELOPIDAS, who had already, by his virtues and abilities, acquired an ascendency over the minds of his countrymen. The leader in Thebes was the great EPAMINONDAS, between whom and Pelopidas the warmest ties grew up. On one occasion, when Pelopidas was scarcely of the military age, he had fought rashly in battle and was beaten down by the enemy; but, in the critical moment, Epaminondas threw his broad shield between the gallant youth and destruction.

Ever afterwards Pelopidas looked to Epaminondas as to a father. Between the two heroes communication was now opened, and a conspiracy was formed for the liberation of Thebes from thralldom. A banquet was given to the polemarchs, Archias and Philippus, and when they were well drunken Pelopidas, and six others, who had come into the city in disguise, were introduced dressed as women. When the intoxicated officers undertook to lift their veils the conspirators drew their daggers and stabbed them. Leontiades, the military governor, was surrounded in his

house and killed. Epaminondas issued a proclamation of freedom, and the Thebans from every side rushed to arms. An assembly was called and the conspirators were publicly crowned with wreaths of flowers. The old office of *Bœotrurch* was revived, and Pelopidas, Charon, and Mellon were chosen to administer the affairs of the state. The city was soon filled with returning exiles. Athenian volunteers poured into the country, and

EPAMINONDAS SAVES THE LIFE OF PELOPIDAS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

Epaminondas soon found himself at the head of a courageous and powerful force.

Sparta was thunderstruck with the intelligence. Rallying from her consternation she dispatched an army under CLEOMBROTUS and SPHODRIAS to suppress the alarming insurrection. The former soon retired from Bœotia without accomplishing any thing, and the latter was bribed by the Thebans to invade Attica—this for the purpose of compelling the Athenians to enter into an active alliance with themselves. The ruse was successful. The Spartans disavowed the act of Sphodrias, but the fact of the invasion remained, and the exasperation of Athens could not be appeased.

Having once more completely broken with the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians set to work with great energy to establish a new league which should be powerful enough to uphold the independence of the democratic states. The plan proposed was the constitution of the old confederacy of Delos. A congress was to be created of delegates from the seventy independent cities composing the league, and this body was to have the power to advise and direct in all matters of common interest, under the leadership of Athens. It was at once voted to raise an army of twenty thousand hoplites and five hundred cavalry, and to equip a fleet of two hundred galleys. A special tax was assessed in Athens to push forward the preparations, and in Thebes the army was rapidly brought into a state of perfect discipline.

Now it was that the military genius of

Epaminondas began to shine with inextinguishable luster. He had every quality requisite in a popular hero. He was a man of the people. To the intellectual acquirements most prized in his own country—music, dancing, and gymnastic skill—he added the best accomplishments of Athenian learning. By the study of Pythagoras and Socrates he had familiarized himself with the best aspects of Greek thought. To the gifts of persuasive eloquence he added personal virtue, and to courage of the most heroic pattern the highest military genius ever produced in Greece.

After the failure of Cleombrotus and Sphodrias, the now aged Agesilaüs himself took the field to restore the fortunes of Sparta. In B. C. 378 he invaded Bœotia with a large army. The country was ravaged to the gates of Thebes, but no decisive battle was fought, nor did the Spartans manifest any extreme anxiety to incur the hazard of a general engagement. In the next year the same scenes were witnessed and the same results reached, except that Agesilaüs was injured in his lame leg and for several seasons disabled from command. The campaign of B. C. 376 was intrusted to Cleombrotus, but the Thebans met him in the passes of the Cithæron and he was obliged to retire without crossing the Bœotian frontier.

During this same year the Athenian fleets under Chabrias and Phocion gained complete control of the seas. The Spartan squadron commanded by Pollio was defeated off Naxos, and on the western coast the islands of Cephellenia and Corcyra were recovered for the league. So great was the success of the allied navy that by the close of the year there was less cause to apprehend danger from the fleet of Sparta than from the privateers of Ægina. But for a growing jealousy between Thebes and Athens every thing would have foretokened the complete triumph of the allies.

The years B. C. 375 and 374 were marked by still greater successes of the Theban arms. In the former summer Pelopidas gained a decisive victory over the Spartans at the town of Tegyra. The harmost of Orchomenus had begun an invasion of Locris, and at the same time Pelopidas undertook the capture of Orchomenus; but both leaders were foiled in the objects of their campaigns. In returning, however, the Thebans fell in with the enemy near Tegyra, and although greatly inferior in numbers Pelopidas did not hesitate to join battle. Depending upon the splendid Theban phalanx known as the Sacred Band, he boldly made the onset, and when a messenger big with alarm ran to him and cried out, "We are fallen into the midst of the enemy," he coolly replied, "Why then the enemy are fallen into the midst of us!" The result of the battle was ruinous to the Lacedæmonians. Both of their generals were killed, and the losses in the ranks were very severe. All of the region round about, with the exception of Orchomenus and Chæronea, was detached from Spartan rule.

By this stage of the war it had become with Thebes not so much a question of independence as how far she might extend her influence. Phocis was the first state against which she felt called to take up arms. The Phocians had refused to pay the tribute levied by the congress of the confederacy, and felt comparatively safe in doing so because of the support of her ancient allies, the Athenians. The latter, offended at the attitude of Thebes, proposed peace to the Spartans, and terms were at once agreed upon. But the treaty was broken almost as soon as made, and hostilities continued.

After a few years of varying successes, the desire for a settlement became general throughout Greece. Antalcidas was again dispatched (B C. 372) to the court of Persia to represent that Thebes, by the restoration of the Bœotian confederacy, had violated the terms of the treaty dictated by the Great King, and to ask his intervention. This proceeding quickened the desire for peace on the part of the democratic states; for they greatly preferred to settle the affairs of Greece without the aid or interference of Persia. In furtherance of such a desire a conference was held at Sparta in the spring of B. C. 371, and after considerable discussion the conditions of peace—known as the PEACE OF CALLIAS from the name of the Athenian ambassador—were agreed to by the deputies.

The terms of the compact were—the independence of the various Greek cities, the disbanding of the hostile fleets, and the dismissal of all the Spartan garrisons from the towns now occupied by them. When it came to signing the treaty there was a strange incident, which revealed more plainly than words the hollowness of the settlement, or perhaps it might be said of *any* settlement between the states represented in the congress. Sparta ratified the terms for herself *and her allies*. Athens signed for herself only, and each of the confederate cities gave a separate ratification until it came to Thebes. Epaminondas insisted that he would sign for himself *and for the Bœotian confederacy*. When this proceeding was resisted by Agesilaüs, the Theban boldly defended his right, maintaining that the same differed in no respect from the right of Sparta to sign for the Lacedæmonian league. He declared that in either case the right depended on the sword, and that a Bœotian sword was as good as a Spartan. Agesilaüs was greatly angered at this "insolence," and the altercation became so violent that the king in a rage ordered the name of Thebes to be struck out of the treaty. So Epaminondas was left to himself and his sword.

Of course there was but one thing to be expected—the immediate invasion of Bœotia by the Lacedæmonians. Nor was it regarded as within the range of things possible that Thebes, even with the support of her great general, could long withstand the assaults of her inveterate and powerful foe. Nevertheless, when Cleombrotus, who now held command of the Spartan army in Phocis, was ordered to march into Bœotia and put down all opposition, Epaminondas, nothing daunted, made preparations to give him battle. The combatants met on the plain of LEUCTRA. The Thebans were greatly discouraged at the approach of the enemy. Bad omens were reported by the seers. Three of the seven Bœotrarchs voted to return to the city and to send their wives and children to Athens.

But Epaminondas could not be appalled. Just before the battle began an exile discovered that the field contained the tombs of two Theban virgins who had killed themselves after having been violated by Spartan soldiers. The general had their graves covered with garlands, and demanded that the outraged honor of Theban womanhood should now be vindicated on the dastardly race that had committed the deed. The spirit of the soldiers was fired with the appeal, and the conflict began.

The tactics adopted by Epaminondas were a novelty in Grecian warfare. Hitherto there had been but little variation from the established usage of the field. The Greek commander generally arranged his forces so as to "attack in line." The theory of battle was that the whole line—center, left wing, right wing—must be maintained unbroken. It is to Epaminondas that the method of attacking in column, that is, of throwing upon some particular part of the enemy's lines a heavy mass of men moving in a column with a narrow front, but of great depth, must be referred. He adopted this policy for the first in the battle of Leuctra. Concentrating his best troops in the left wing, where they were massed to the depth of fifty files, he threw them with irresistible force against the Spartan right. The Theban center and right were not advanced at all, but held in reserve to act according to the emergency. With the onset the Lacedæmonian right wing was utterly routed. Cleombrotus was mortally wounded—the first Spartan "king" who had fallen in battle since the day of Thermopylæ. The rout was complete. The Spartans were granted the privilege of burying their dead, but these were first stripped of their armor, which was hung as a trophy in Thebes.

The effect of this victory was tremendous in all Greece. It had been believed that in a general field battle the Spartan hoplites were invincible. Here at Leuctra, though superior in numbers, advantageously posted, and ably commanded, they had been beaten down by the hitherto comparatively undistinguished soldiery of Thebes, and this, too, by a method of attack which was an innovation upon the established rules of battle. Sparta had never before suffered so great a disaster in the field.[1]

[1] As illustrative of Spartan character and manners, the reception of the news of the battle of

Whether viewed in itself as a ruinous defeat, or considered as a precedent of what might be expected hereafter, the shock might well be regarded as fatal to Spartan military fame.

At this epoch in Grecian history appeared on the stage JASON OF PHERÆ, generalissimo of Thessaly. After the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans sent to him for assistance in the further prosecution of their war with Sparta. Already ambitious of extending his own influence in Northern and Central Greece, he gladly joined his forces with those of Thebes to complete the expulsion of the Lacedæmonians from the country. This was accomplished, however, rather by strategy than by force; for Jason assumed the office of an arbiter, and the three hundred surviving Spartans were permitted to escape from Bœotia and return home.

It was evident from this transaction that Jason of Pheræ, having had a taste of Greek politics, was enamored of the situation, and that he saw in the same an opportunity for the extension of his own influence and authority. After scanning the horizon, it appeared to him that Southern Greece offered the most favorable field for his operations. Accordingly he announced his intention to participate in the ensuing Pythian Festival of August, B. C. 370. He caused it to be proclaimed that he would himself take charge of the celebration, and that his sacrifice to Apollo should consist of one thousand bulls and ten thousand sheep, goats, and swine. The Delphian priests and Amphictyons were thrown into consternation by these tidings, but the oracle gave assurance that Phœbus would guard his shrine. A short time afterwards, and before the date of the festival, Jason was brought to a pause by assassination. Seven young men rushed upon him and gave him his quietus while he sat in public hearing causes.

In the mean time the Mantineans, whose city, as heretofore related, had been dismantled by the Spartans, had availed themselves of the decline of Lacedæmonian influence to rebuild their ramparts. In this work they were supported by other Arcadian towns and also by Thebes; for the latter saw in these movements a sign of the cloud that was to break over Sparta. Agesilaüs marched into Arcadia, but was unable to prevent the Mantineans from restoring their city. He, however, did much damage by ravaging the country round about, and then withdrew.

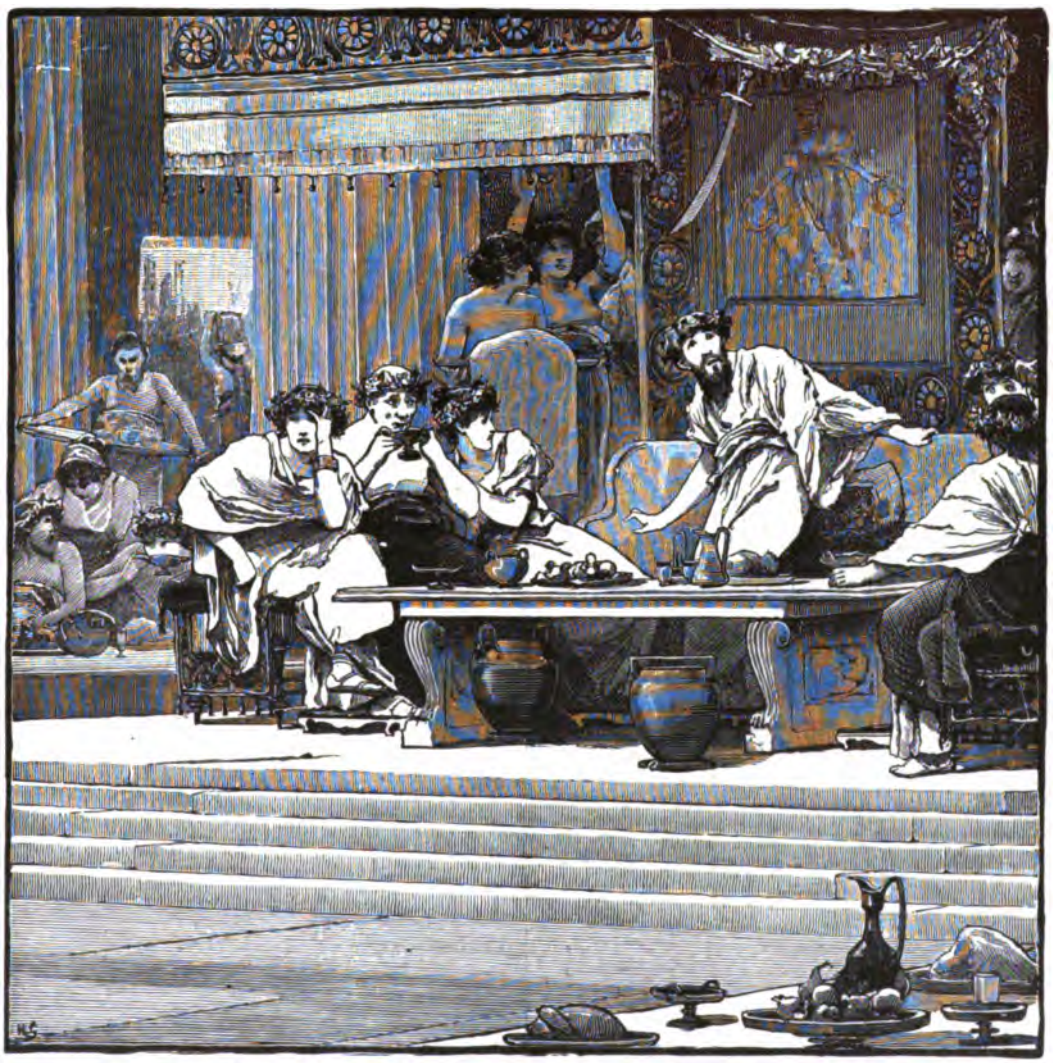
Epaminondas was already on the march to the south, where he was joined by the Argives and the Eleans, by whom his already large army was increased to seventy thousand men. His plan now contemplated the restoration to independence of Messenia, whose people for generations had been scattered into all parts of Greece. So great was the enthusiasm created by the presence of Epaminondas in Peloponnesus that the enemies of Sparta, availing themselves of the manifest paralysis of that power, exhorted him to make an invasion of Laconia. To this he assented, and his army was immediately advanced across the border and was soon at Amyclæ, on the the Eurotas, only a few miles from the capital.

The alarm at that city knew no bounds. The women of Sparta, who had never seen the face of an enemy, went about wailing. Nothing but the energy and courage of Agesilaüs saved the city from capture and destruction; but through his exertions, assisted by the Ephors, the walless capital of Laconia was soon brought into a state of defense. And though the king did not dare to go forth and give his antagonist battle, he yet succeeded in protecting the city. Epaminondas, however, wasted the country at will, and withdrew unmolested to the west. Here, in Arcadia and Messenia, he prosecuted successfully his purpose of establishing an Arcadian confederation and restoring the state of Messenia to independence. To secure the latter object, the ancient cliffs of Ithomé were se-

Leuctra forms a striking incident. The festival of Gymnopædia, which was celebrating at the time, went on without interruption. Women were forbidden to wail for their dead. The relatives of those who were slain went about the streets laughing; while those whose friends had survived from the battle wept from shame and mortification. As for the rest, Sparta merely prepared to rescue her army.

lected, and a new capital, called Messené, was established on the summit.

Such was the present abasement of Sparta that she now sent humbly to Athens to solicit an alliance against the Thebans. The Athenians readily assented, but Sparta, in order to



BANQUET OF DAMOCLES.

secure the league, was obliged to renounce her claims of leadership. It was agreed that the command both by land and sea should alternate in periods of five days between the generals of the two states. The first movement of the new allies was to occupy the isthmus of Corinth. Thus should Epaminondas be cut off from communication with his confederates in Peloponnesus. But the Thebans soon broke through the passes, and in B. C. 369 made the usual invasion of Southern Greece. Still the campaign was not attended with much success, and in the mean time the Lacedæmonian cause was considerably revived by the arrival of a squadron from Syracuse, the same being sent out by the Sicilian tyrant, Dionysius.[1] With the approach

[1] It was at the court of the Tyrant Dionysius that the celebrated incident occurred in which the courtier Damocles figured as the principal actor. As narrated by Cicero, this distinguished sycophant had, after the manner of his kind, lauded Dionysius, and ascribed to him such happiness as belongs only to the immortals. In order to rebuke this unseemly flattery, the Tyrant in-

of winter Epaminondas retired to Thebes and the allies to their respective states.

The year B. C. 368 was mostly occupied by an expedition of Pelopidas into Thessaly. After the death of Jason, Alexander, a Thessalian prince, had succeeded, by murdering his two brothers, in becoming generalissimo of the country. Against him—for he entertained the same ambitious projects of his predecessor—the Theban campaign was directed. Pelopidas was entirely successful. Alexander was obliged to solicit a settlement, and the cities of Thessaly were mostly induced to enter into a league against the extension of his power. As soon as the state was reduced to quiet Pelopidas marched into Macedonia, whose regent Ptolemy was induced to make an alliance with the Thebans; and to bind the compact the young Macedonian prince, PHILIP, son of Amyntas, was given as a hostage and taken to Thebes, where he spent several years, keenly alive to the influences of Greek politics and the culture of the South. Thus was brought about the first contact between the Greek states and the great power of the North by whose sword their liberties were so soon to be extinguished.

Meanwhile, the league of the Arcadian cities had grown strong as well as over-confident under the leadership of Lycomedes. Like all the other Greeks the Arcadians, as soon as freedom dawned, rushed forward to gain first independence and then ascendency. This haste to be great roused the jealousy of Thebes, and she now looked coldly on the Arcadian confederation or even sympathized with its enemies. After the arrival of the Syracusan reïnforcements the Spartans, feeling strong enough to assume the offensive, invaded Arcadia, and succeeded in bringing on an action in which the forces of the towns of the league were completely routed. Not a single Spartan fell in the conflict, and the fight was for this reason given the name of the Tearless Battle.

The important event of the years B. C. 367–366 was the embassy sent by Thebes to Persia. Ever since the Peace of Antalcidas the Great King had claimed and exercised the rights of an arbiter in the internal affairs of Greece. The Thebans, now claiming the position of leadership, felt that it was necessary for their assumption to be recognized by the Persian court. Pelopidas and Ismenias were accordingly sent to Susa to secure the sanction of the royal power to the claim of Thebes, and also to obtain the decision of the king respecting several disputes now pending between the Greek states. The Athenians, in order if possible, to counteract the arguments of the Theban ambassadors, sent Timagoras and Leon to represent Athens and the Peloponnesian league. But the king, who had now learnt that the easiest way to maintain his ascendency in Greece was to support the strongest state, readily inclined to the side of Thebes. Her leadership was formally recognized, and the pending difficulties in Peloponnesus were all decided according to her wish.

The settlement, however, was unfavorably received in Greece. In vain did Thebes insist that the rescript of the Great King should be accepted by the assembly convened to hear the conditions of the adjustment. The Arcadians withdrew from the council. Other states refused to ratify the terms. Pelopidas and Ismenias went in person to Thessaly to secure a ratification. Alexander had them seized and imprisoned at Pheræ. When the Thebans undertook to recover their general and sent an army of more than eight thousand men into Thessaly they were defeated and driven from the country. For in a fit of folly they had refused that year to reëlect Epaminondas Bœotrarch, and the commanders who went against Alexander were incompetent as leaders.

The great general, however, was serving in the ranks, and when the army, pursued by Alexander, was about to be ruined, the soldiers called on Epaminondas to save them. He accordingly took command and the Theban forces were delivered from their peril. A reäction in his favor was the imme-

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vited Damocles to a banquet. When the courtier arrived and was seated, he glanced upward and beheld above his head a sword *suspended by a single hair!* Thus would his master teach him the peril and precarious tenure of greatness.

diate result. He was restored to his office and intrusted with a new expedition to secure the release of Pelopidas. He at once proceeded into Thessaly and induced Alexander rather by diplomacy than by force to set Pelopidas at liberty. Epaminondas then refrained from any severe retaliation against the generalissimo on the ground of expediency.

The next incident of the struggle to maintain the Theban ascendency was the capture of Oropus. This town, situated near the border line between Athens and Thebes, had for a long time been in possession of the former city; but the people of Oropus, composed for the most part of Theban exiles, sympathized with the mother state, and watching their opportunity seized the city and delivered it over to Thebes. About the same time the Arcadians, under the lead of Lycomedes, having been alienated by the course of the Theban authorities, sought and obtained an alliance with Athens, though in the course of the negotiations Lycomedes was assassinated by some exiles acting in the Theban interest.

By this league it became more than ever desirable for Athens to have possession of the isthmus of Corinth to the end that she might keep a free communication between herself and her Peloponnesian allies. She accordingly with singular moral obliquity formed the design of seizing Corinth, though between herself and that city there was not the slightest cause of quarrel. The Corinthians, however, gathered an intimation of the scheme, and were able by judicious measures to thwart the purpose of her *friend*. They then turned to Thebes with a proposition for a general peace. To this the Thebans assented, and a conference was accordingly convened at Sparta, but only the minor states could agree on the terms of settlement. Thebes, Athens, Sparta, and Arcadia could not be reconciled, and the struggle continued as before.

During the years B. C. 365–364 the Athenians regained in some measure their ascendency at sea. A fleet under command of Timotheus conquered Samos and restored the authority of his country in most of the Cyclades. The effect of this revival of maritime power was to arouse and exasperate the Thebans, who had never hitherto wielded any influence in the Ægean. Epaminondas encouraged his countrymen to build a fleet of one hundred triremes and was himself put in command of the squadron. Sailing to the Hellespont in B. C. 363 he made as though he would begin a conquest of the countries adjacent thereto, but nothing came of the expedition. The sea-service was a novelty both to himself and his men.

While this maritime ambition had possession of the mind of Epaminondas, Pelopidas organized a land force and again invaded Thessaly. The recollection of his imprisonment rankled within him, and he determined that Alexander should feel the force of his vengeance. The latter raised a large army and advanced to meet the Thebans. The two enemies confronted each other in the field of CYNOSCEPHALÆ, where the Thessalians, though greatly superior in numbers, were completely routed. Pelopidas, however, like Cyrus the Younger at Cunaxa, inspired by a sudden rage on beholding Alexander in the enemy's confused ranks, made a rash and furious charge with the hope of reaching him. But Alexander was surrounded by his friends, and Pelopidas, cutting at them with blind fury, was himself struck down and killed. His loss was so great as to counterbalance the victory. Shortly afterwards, however, a second Theban campaign against Thessaly was completely successful. Alexander was stripped of all his dependencies and confined to the limits of his own city of Pheræ.

In the mean time a war had broken out between Elis and Arcadia. The latter state in B. C. 364 had transferred the presidency of the Olympic games from the Eleans to the Pisatans, and the former endeavored to maintain their rights by force. During the progress of the festival they came armed into the sacred precincts, and were resisted by the Arcadians. The temple of Zeus was seized and used as a fortress, and the celebration was broken up in a shameful conflict. The Eleans were finally compelled to retire, but they sought revenge by striking the one hundred and fourth Olympiad from the list of the

festivals and counting it ever afterwards a *dies non.*

After the war had continued for two years Epaminondas again undertook the pacification of Peloponnesus and marched a large army across the isthmus. He was joined by reënforcements from those states and towns favorable to the Theban cause, while those who were opposed rallied in great force at Mantinea. The aged Agesilaüs, of Sparta, set out for this place at the head of the Lacedæmonian forces, and Epaminondas seeing the Laconian capital thus exposed, once more formed the design of capturing it. By a swift movement he reached the city before Agesilaüs could reënter; but the houses were so well defended and the old king so alert that the Theban was obliged to retire. Sparta again escaped destruction by the skin of her teeth.

Epaminondas, however, at once made his way to MANTINEA, and here was fought the decisive battle of the war. The conflict occurred in the plain between the city and Tegea. On coming upon the field Epaminondas ordered his soldiers to ground arms. From this movement the Spartans and Mantinæans inferred that the battle would not occur until the following day. They accordingly took off their breastplates and disposed themselves at ease. But Epaminondas was busy with preparations, and had no thought of procrastination. He adopted the same plan of battle as at Leuctra. He massed his best troops into a column of great depth and hurled them upon the enemy, who, hurrying into rank, were unable to withstand the shock. The field was swept at a single charge, and the soldiers of Sparta were again seen in flight. But the victory was purchased by Thebes at too dear a price. Epaminondas, fighting in the foremost ranks, was struck in the breast with a spear and fell mortally wounded. He was carried from the field in a dying condition. Having satisfied himself *that his shield was safe,* and that the victory was certainly won, he ordered the spear-head to be drawn from his breast, and died.

The Theban ascendency perished with him. Both of those—Iolaïdas and Daiphantus—whom he had indicated as his successors perished in the battle, and his own dying advice to make peace was as necessary as it was judicious. His great rival, Agesilaüs, survived him but a short time, and then ended his career in a most dramatic manner. At the age of eighty years, the indomitable old man, hobbling about on his lame leg, organized a force of one thousand hoplites and went on an expedition into Egypt. That country, under the leadership of Tachos, was now engaged in an insurrection against the Persians, and the Spartan king went to his aid. He cut so ridiculous a figure on his arrival that Egyptian ridicule could not be restrained.

But the party of Nectanebis, who presently rose against Tachos, better appreciated the military genius of the short old octogenarian, who went stumping about the ranks with the imperturbable spirit for which his race had always been noted. Agesilaüs actually raised Nectanebis to power, and was by him rewarded with a present of two hundred and thirty talents. But on his way homeward the old man died. His body was embalmed in wax and carried to Sparta, where it was buried with great honor. The ancient prophecy which had confronted him at the beginning of his reign, and which Lysander had to explain away, had indeed been fulfilled. Sparta had good reason to beware of the "lame reign," for her prominence in the affairs of Greece ceased with the death of Agesilaüs.

Mention has been recently made of a squadron sent to the aid of the Lacedæmonians by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. The incident naturally suggests a few paragraphs on the progress of Grecian civilization in Sicily and Southern Italy. After the complete collapse of the Athenian expedition of B. C. 413, at which time the government of Syracuse was in the hands of the oligarchic or Spartan party, a revolution occurred in favor of the democracy. One Diocles, a learned and patriotic citizen, was appointed to draft a popular constitution. Hermocrates, the leader of the oligarchy, was banished; but a counter revolution was soon organized by which he was enabled to return and Diocles was himself sent into exile. While the oli-

garchic chief was endeavoring to regain possession of Syracuse he was slain; but his cause was immediately taken up by the young Dionysius, a man of great abilities and audacity, who soon obtained a vote of the assembly by which he was raised first to authority and then to despotism. He first made successful war upon several of the Sicilian cities, and then began a conflict with Carthage. But this undertaking proved beyond his capacity to manage. The island was invaded by an immense force of Carthaginians, and Syracuse was only saved from capture, and perhaps destruction, by the ravages of a pestilence which broke out in the camp of the besiegers. Imilcon, the Carthaginian general, then purchased from Dionysius the privilege of a safe retreat from the island.

Under the direction of the tyrant, Syracuse soon became the foremost city in the west. And, indeed, in all continental Greece, Sparta only could rival the power and grandeur of the Sicilian capital. Dionysius himself set the example in artistic and literary culture. He courted the Muses. He had his poems publicly recited, not only in his own city, but also in Athens. He contended for prizes at the Lenæan festival and at the Olympic games. Several second and third prizes were awarded to him, and finally the first prize in tragedy, given for his play entitled the *Ransom of Hector*. For thirty-eight years he wielded the destinies of the city, and died without an overthrow.

After him his son, known as Dionysius the Younger, became master of Syracuse, and for a while, under the influence of PLATO, who was invited to his court, showed some signs of mitigating the rigorous rule established by his father; but the influence of courtiers prevailed against these tendencies, and Plato himself, falling into disrepute, was for a season in danger of his life. At length, however, the philosopher escaped and returned to Greece.

Soon afterwards, in B. C. 357, Dion, the leader of the opposing party in politics, headed an insurrection against the tyrant, and the latter was overthrown, to the great joy of the people. Dion then became ruler of the city, and was expected to make an effort at reform. He had been the friend of Plato, and had imbibed that great thinker's profound but somewhat impracticable views of government, and the people looked for a millennium; but in this they were so grievously disappointed that Dion was soon assassinated by one Callippus, who held the city for about a year, when he was in turn driven out by a nephew of Dion. Several revolutions followed in quick succession, until finally an appeal was sent to Sparta for the restoration of order. The Lacedæmonian authorities thereupon dispatched the celebrated Timoleon to quiet the disturbances in Sicily, and especially to restore the ascendency of Spartan influence in Syracuse.[1]

The squadron given to Timoleon numbered only ten vessels, but with this small armament he made his way into Sicily. Having arrived at Adranum he encountered Hicetas, the then leader of the democratic party in the island, who came out with a large force to drive back the Spartans. Timoleon, however, gained a decisive victory, and then marched into Syracuse without further opposition. Dionysius (the third of that name), who now headed the oligarchy, surrendered to him, and he thus became master of the city. He at once proceeded to the demolition of the fortifications of Orytigia and the destruction of the other relics of the reign of the Elder Dionysius, including his splendid mausoleum; and when this work was accomplished the new governor erected courts of justice on the sites of the overthrow. Those who had been banished were invited to return, and of these—together with companies of citizens who joined them—there came from Corinth ten thousand in a single colony. The constitution was revised, and most of the statutes of Diocles again made operative in the government of the city.

[1] The story of Timoleon's previous life is a tragedy. Once in battle he saved the life of his elder brother Timophenes, but afterwards, when the latter was overtaken in a piece of treachery to his country, he consented to his death. Then remorse seized him, and, loaded with the imprecations of his mother, he slunk out of sight and tried to starve himself to death. After a long seclusion he was, by one of those strange caprices for which the Greek mind was so peculiarly noted, called to take charge of the expedition just organized in aid of the Syracusans.

After the defeat of Hicetas, that leader still held out for a season, defending himself in the town of Leontini. Here he was presently besieged by Timoleon and obliged to capitulate; but he sought revenge by inviting in the Carthaginians, who immediately responded by sending into the island an army of seventy thousand men. Against these Timoleon could muster but twelve thousand; but with this small force he went boldly into battle at the river Crimesus, and, assisted by a terrible storm which burst suddenly in the face of the enemy with hail and lightning and wind, gained a complete and decisive victory. Ten thousand of the Carthaginians

PLATO.
Museum of DePauw University.

were destroyed in the battle and fifteen thousand made prisoners. The effect of the victory was such that the enemy was glad to accept the terms of peace which, in B. C. 338, Timoleon saw fit to offer.

In the mean time, Hicetas was overthrown, taken prisoner, and condemned to death for his treachery. The various despots who under the influence of the oligarchy had obtained possession of most of the Sicilian towns were now ejected, and the whole island speedily brought to a condition of quiet never before enjoyed. As soon as this happy condition of affairs had been reached, Timoleon resigned his trust and retired to private life. For his services he would accept nothing but a modest house given him by the city. He soon afterwards brought his family from Greece, and passed the rest of his life in honorable seclusion. It was impossible, however, that his influence should not be sought and felt in the public business of the city and island. He was frequently consulted as a kind of patriotic oracle in deciding the gravest questions of state. After his blindness, which ensued not long after his retirement, he continued to be a mark of the distinguished esteem and confidence of the Syracusans, who took delight in bringing him in a car into the public assembly or theater, and on such occasions he was always received with a burst of popular enthusiasm. At his death, in B. C. 336, he was honored with a splendid funeral at the public expense, and a concourse of weeping people gathered at his tomb to bear witness to his heroic virtues and unselfish patriotism.

Before the events which have just been narrated, the final act in Hellenic history had begun in Greece. It will have been noticed that, with the decline of Sparta, the apprehensions of the Athenians and Thebans were directed to the North rather than to Peloponnesus. The imbroglio with Alexander of Pheræ had indicated that even within the limits of Northern Greece the elements of danger to the independence of the smaller states lay hidden ready for development; but more particularly was there cause for alarm from the growing power of the great kingdom just beyond Olympus.

The giving of the youth, Philip of Macedon, as a hostage to the Thebans, and his residence of several years among the Greeks, have already been mentioned. While in Thebes the young man made good use of his opportunities. He studied the Greek language and literature. He made the acquaintance of Plato. He studied military science under Epaminondas, and familiarized himself with the current condition of the affairs of Greece. His great natural abilities were thus stimulated in a school well calculated to bring out the best energies of his genius. Before leaving Thebes—which he did in B. C. 359—to assume the duties of the Macedonian government during the absence of his brother Perdiccas on the Illyrian campaign, he had

already attracted the attention of the most eminent Greeks of his time. Nor were there wanting those who could discover in the young prince the forecastings of a remarkable career.

When Perdiccas was slain by the Illyrians, the crown of Macedonia fell to his son, with Philip for regent. Two claimants to the throne now arose—Pausanias, who was supported by the king of Thrace, and Argæus, with whom the Athenians were leagued on account of the favor which he had shown them in gaining possession of Amphipolis.

But Philip, by his address, soon secured the withdrawal of support from both of the pretenders, and thus brought their cause to naught. Having thus provided for peace at home, he at once entered upon his campaign against the Pæonians and Illyrians. Both of these peoples were quickly and easily subdued. The tactics which Philip had learned from Epaminondas were put to use in the very first battle, and with terrible effect upon the Illyrians, who were put to utter rout by the heavy column which the Macedonian massed against a single point in their lines. The effect of the victory so strengthened Philip at home that by common consent he assumed the crown; but the son of Perdiccas was treated with consideration by the new king, who gave him his daughter in marriage.

The first contact of Philip with the Athenians was respecting the possession of Amphipolis. It will be remembered that this city had been wrenched from Athens by Brasidas of Sparta, and had subsequently had a nominal independence. With the organization of the Olynthian league the members of that confederacy became extremely anxious that Amphipolis should become a member of the alliance. The position of the city at the mouth of the Strymon rendered it of vast importance to Philip, whose ambition reached towards the ocean as well as landward. With extraordinary skill, not unmixed with craftiness, he secured the friendliness and support of Athens by promising to give her Amphipolis if she would yield Pydna to him; and at the same time he procured the withdrawal of the claim of Olynthus by agreeing to cede to that city the town of Anthemus. These measures having cleared the field of opposition, he suddenly laid siege to Amphipolis and took it before assistance could be rendered by any. He also kept Pydna; and the Olynthians and Athenians were left to nurse their complaints. The people of Olynthus were soon placated by the recovery of Potidæa, which town Philip graciously turned over to them as a kind of compensation for the loss of Amphipolis.

The year B. C. 356 was a fortunate epoch for the Macedonian king. In that year his general, Parmenio, gained a great victory over the Illyrians, by which the previous conquest of Philip was strengthened and confirmed. In the Olympic games the king's chariot won a prize in the face of the sharpest competition; and last, but not least, a son was born and named—ALEXANDER.

At this time Central Greece—especially Athens—was distracted by the Social War. A coalition was formed against that state by Byzantium, Rhodes, Chios, and Cos; and the efforts of the mother city to suppress the revolt proved unavailing. The conflict, however, was continued (B. C. 357–355) until Artaxerxes interfered, and Athens was obliged to assent to the independence of her insurgent dependencies. Meanwhile another contest, known as the Sacred War,[1] had broken out between Thebes and Phocis. The people of the latter state had long been held in dislike by the Thebans, who now, using their great influence in the affairs of Greece, secured a vote at the Amphictyonic council by which a heavy fine was imposed on the Phocians, who had—as was alleged—been cultivating a portion of the consecrated plain of Cirrha.

Phocis, after protesting in vain and being afflicted with a second fine, flew into a passion, and, under the lead of Philomelus, seized Delphi, temple, oracle, and all. With the enormous treasures thus secured, the Phocians bid defiance to the Thebans. Ten thousand mercenaries were hired, and with this force Philomelus, making his way into Locris, defeated the army which Thebes had put into

[1] This was the *second* conflict so-called. See *supra*, p. 518.

the field against him. But the tide soon turned, and in a second battle the Phocians were routed and their leader killed. Onomarchus succeeded to the command, and the war continued with varying success and great barbarity; for the sacrilegious nature of the quarrel embittered the contest by as much as superstition is more cruel than reason.

Thus by the Social and the Sacred War was Greece weakened. Philip saw in the distractions of his neighbors on the south an opportunity to interfere for the aggrandizement of his own influence. First he invaded Thessaly, where the exactions of Alexander of Pheræ and his successors had so embittered the people that an easy conquest was open to any liberal-minded and sagacious general. The town of Pheræ, however, more subjected to the influence of the recent tyrants than other Thessalian cities, resisted Philip and was besieged. Onomarchus, the Phocian, who had received some assistance from the Pheræans, now sent a force of seven thousand men to their aid, and Philip was obliged to retire for a time from the country. Returning, however, with an army of twenty thousand men he overran all Thessaly, but Onomarchus again marched into the country and gave the Macedonian battle near the gulf of Pagasæ. The latter was this time completely victorious. The Phocian general was slain. Philip proclaimed himself the defender of the Delphic shrine, and was about to march at once into Central Greece, but was turned back by a strong force posted at Thermopylæ.

DEMOSTHENES.—Berlin.

Now it was that the great DEMOSTHENES appeared in the arena at Athens. The people of the city divided into a Macedonian and an anti-Macedonian party. The latter was led by the orator; the former, by his rivals, Phocion and Æschines. The story of the life of Demosthenes is full of interest and instruction. Defrauded by his guardians and turned out in poverty on the world, weak in body, and subject to great dejection, he began a struggle for preëminence against every disadvantage. His first public appearance on the bema was a failure; but he applied himself with indefatigable industry to study and practice, and soon wrested from public opinion the palm of oratory which twenty-two centuries have not plucked away.

The subject which then agitated the Athenians—the encroachments of Philip and the consequent peril to the liberties of Greece—was of a sort to evoke the highest interest and to arouse the most patriotic passions. In a series of orations known as the *Philippics* the orator discussed the whole question involved in the present state of his country, and more particularly sought to stimulate the Athenians to a vigorous and united effort to stay the approach of the Macedonians. His efforts, however, were comparatively unavailing. In B. C. 352 the assembly voted to organize a fleet to operate against Philip, but the movement was marked by neither energy nor success. Two years later the city of Olynthus, still at the head of the Northern confederacy, sent an urgent appeal to Athens to assist in repelling the insidious, but now scarcely disguised, ambitions of Philip. Demosthenes delivered three orations, known as the *Olynthiacs*, on the question thus presented to the assembly. But no energetic action could be evoked, even by the fiery appeals of the matchless orator. Greece sat languidly by and saw town after town of the Olynthian league won over or conquered by Philip, until finally Olynthus herself was taken, her fortifications leveled, her people sold as slaves, and the whole Chalcidician peninsula reduced to a Macedonian province.

Meanwhile, the disgraceful Sacred War continued. As long as the treasures in the Delphian temple held out, the Phocians were able year after year to hire new armies of mer-

cenaries and continue the struggle. Thebes was, perhaps, as nearly exhausted as her rival. In this condition of affairs the question was bruited of a league which, beginning with the Thebans and the Athenians, should extend to most of the states of Central Greece—to the end that civil hostilities might cease, and the country be united to repel foreign aggression.

The news of this promising enterprise, however, was carried to Philip, and in the summer of B. C. 347 he sent indirect proposals to Athens inviting a conference in the mutual interests of the two powers. In response the Athenians sent an embassy to the court of Philip headed by Demosthenes, Æschines, and Philocrates. They were entertained by that wily monarch, but nothing came of the negotiations. The Macedonian king soon afterwards sent an embassy to Athens, and the terms of a treaty were agreed upon. In order to secure the ratification of this compact the former Athenian envoys were again dispatched to Macedon, but Philip was absent on a campaign; and even when he was found he insisted that the ambassadors should accompany him into Thessaly to mediate, as he averred, between Pharsalia and Halus. The whole object was to gain time to prosecute his plans in Central Greece.

The treaty, however, was ratified. The envoys of Athens returned home. Demosthenes entered a protest against the conditions of the settlement. His following in the city declared that Æschines had deluded the people with a false notion of security. The usual political wrangle occurred; but the Macedonian party was in the ascendant, and *a vote of thanks to Philip was passed by the assembly for the terms which he had dictated!* That monarch was already on his march into Greece. The supine Athenians sent him word that unless the Phocians would redeliver to the Amphictyons the shrine of Apollo they would unite with him against the defilers of the sacred city. The curtain was up for the last scene in the independence of Greece.

In the mean time, Phalæcus, general of the Phocian army, entered into negotiations with Philip and withdrew, with the monarch's consent, into Peloponnesus. The Macedonian then entered Phocis without opposition. The towns made a virtue of necessity by surrendering. Delphi was taken. The Amphictyons were convened. To them was referred the question as to what disposition should be made of those who had profaned the temple of Apollo and wasted his treasures. The council voted that every Phocian town, with

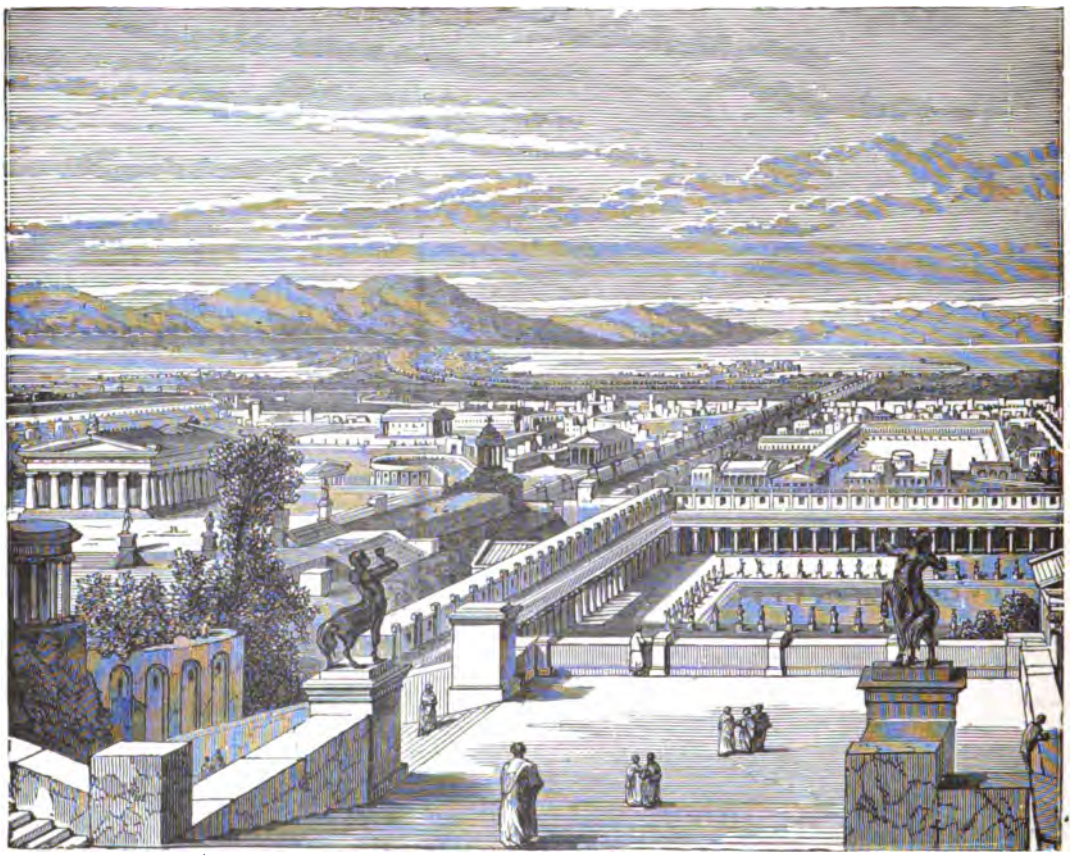
ÆSCHINES.—Naples.

the exception of Abæ, should be leveled to the ground. The people should be scattered into hamlets of not more than fifty houses. The Phocians should be taxed until the annual tribute should amount to ten thousand talents—this to replace the squandered treasures of the temple. The Spartan members of the Amphictyony should be deposed. Finally and specially: the two votes of Phocis in the council should be taken away and conferred on Philip of Macedon! Thus, in the year B. C. 346, was a foreign king, with full power to enforce his will, given a seat at the head of that venerable body, which for so

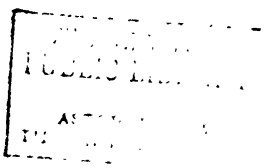
many centuries had been reserved with sacred fidelity for members of the Hellenic race.

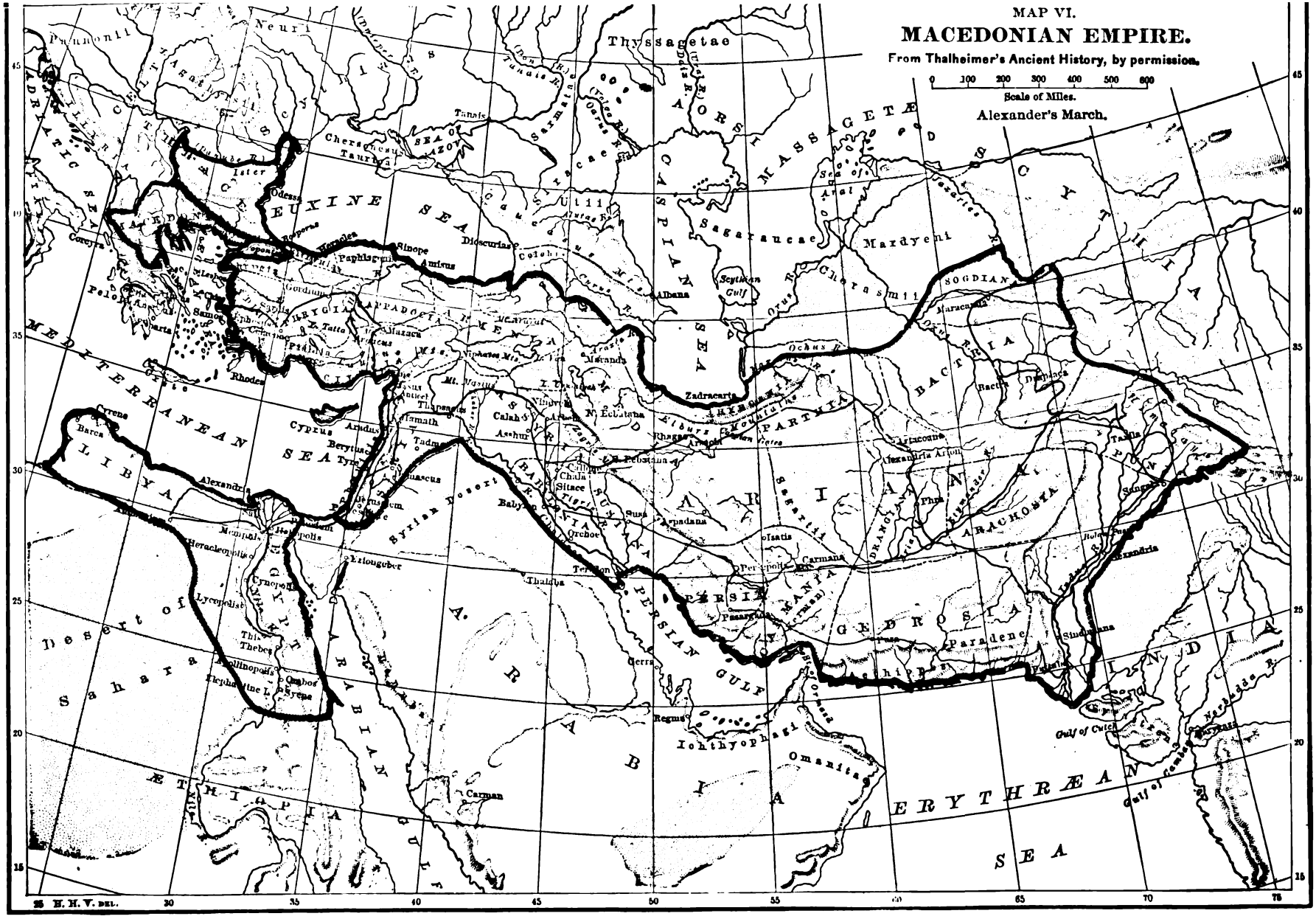
It was now no more than a question of time when the Macedonian monarch would assert his advantage and absorb the Greek states in his dominions. The cry of patriotism might now be lifted in the streets, but to what purpose? The rapid decline of the Grecian communities, their failure in public spirit, the decadence of Grecian institutions, and the substitution of centralization for individuality—all this will come properly into the field of view in the course of the following Book, which will contain the history of the Macedonian ascendency.

For the present, it is sufficient to take leave, not without regret, of that brilliant and versatile people who contributed to antiquity her brightest pages. The voice of the Greek, so shrill in battle so musical in peace; his gay activities, his energy, so often reviving from humiliation and ruin; his brush, his chisel—alas, for all these! where are they? The beauty of Athens has sunk into the dust. The wolves of Mount Taygetus howl in the dark among the broken stones of Sparta. The splendor of Corinth is no more. Only by the imperishable Thought—the verse of Homer, the page of Herodotus, the infinite spirit of Plato, the clarion of Demosthenes—has the renown of Hellas survived, illumining the world that now is, and shedding a glory over her name, even to the far-off shores of the setting sun.



ANCIENT CORINTH.




MAP VI.
MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.
From Thalheimer's Ancient History, by permission.
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles.
Alexander's March.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EUXINE SEA
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN GULF
ERYTHRÆAN SEA
Thyssagetae
MASSAGETÆ
Mardyeni
Sagaraucae
SOGDIANA
BACTRIA
PARTHIA
ARIANA
ARACHOSIA
GEDROSIA
INDIA
ARABIA
ÆTHIOPIA
LIBYA
Desert of Sahara
Syrian Desert
Gulf of Cutch
Gulf of Arabia
Ichthyophagi
Omanitæ
Carmana
Paradene
Persepolis
Susa
Babylon
Thapsacus
Jerusalem
Damascus
Alexandria
Memphis
Heliopolis
Thebes
Apollinopolis
Cyprus
Rhodes
Sinope
Amisus
Paphlagonia
Cappadocia
Phrygia
Lydia
Caria
Lycia
Pisidia
Cilicia
Armenia
Media
Ecbatana
Zadracarta
Hyrcania
Albania
Scythian Gulf
Sea of Aral
Jaxartes R.
Oxus R.
Ochus R.
Indus R.
Hydaspes R.
Hydraspes R.
Acesines R.
Hydraotes R.
Sutlej R.
Ganges R.
Nerbudda R.
Tanais R.
Sea of Azov
Cimmerian Bosporus
Danube R.
Adriatic Sea
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Caspian Gates
Alexandria Arion
Alexandria
Bactra
Drangiana
Arachosia
Gedrosia
Indus
Patala
Sindomana
Pasargadæ
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Arabian Gulf
Mediterranean Sea
Caspian Sea
Euxine Sea
Ethiopia
Libya
Arabia
India
Ariana
Parthia
Bactria
Sogdiana
Massagetæ
Scythia
Sarmatia
Illyria
Thrace
Macedonia
Epirus
Thessaly
Peloponnesus
Corcyra
Crete
Rhodes
Cyprus
Barca
Cyrene
Alexandria
Memphis
Heliopolis
Thebes
Apollinopolis
Cynopolis
Lycopolis
Thinis
Ptolemais
Arsinoe
Berytus
Tyre
Ascalon
Gaza
Damascus
Jerusalem
Samaria
Tadmor
Thapsacus
Babylon
Susa
Orchoe
Sitace
Chala
Calah
Ashur
Nineveh
Arbela
Gaugamela
Arbela
Arbela
Arb

Book Ninth.

MACEDONIA.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—COUNTRY, CITIES, AND TRIBES.

THE most ancient name of the country known in the times of Philip and Alexander, as MACEDON, or MACEDONIA was Emathia. By this appellation it is referred to in the *Iliad.* Doubtless the more recent name was derived from the mythical founder of the nation, a certain Macedo, who was, of course, one of the sons of Zeus. Another ancient appellative of this country was Macetia, or the land of the Macetæ, which name, in its turn, has been associated by the curious with the word Kittim, used in the tenth chapter of Genesis.

Already in the times of Herodotus the more ancient names had been rejected in favor of Macedon; but the region so called was, in the times of that ancient story-teller, only a small district in the vicinity of Mount Pindus. A better acquaintance with the primitive language of the Macedonians would, no doubt, throw much light, not only on the origin of the tribes by which Macedon was peopled, but also on the geographical districts in which they settled

Of the general character of the countries which constituted the empire of Alexander much has already been said. Nearly all of the provinces within the limits of that vast dominion, except Macedonia Proper, had been previously included in one or more than one of the kingdoms which preceded the advent of the conqueror. What had been Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, Media, Babylonia, became Persia; and the various countries dominated by Cyrus and Cambyses were in turn subdued by the son of Philip. These countries, having been described in the preceding Books, from the First to the Seventh inclusive, will here require no further consideration as it respects their geography or productions. It is only of the character of the original kingdom of Philip that something should now be added.

Macedonia, then, is bounded on the south by the Cambunian mountains, which divide it from Thessaly. On the west rises the chain known in different parts of its course as Scardus, Bernus, Pindus. Beyond this range lies Illyria. From Mæsia on the north, Macedonia is divided by the Orbelian mountains, while on the east it is separated from Thrace by the river Strymon The country was thus included on three sides by mountainous eleva-

tions, and on the fourth by a stream of considerable volume. In the time of Herodotus, Macedon had boundaries not nearly so great as those here given; but in the age of the geographer Strabo, the limits were made to include a large part of Illyria and Thrace.

The rivers of Macedonia are three in number; the Axius, the Lydias, and the Haliacmon. All of them find their way into the Thermaic gulf. The most easterly and largest is the Axius, now called the Vardar. It gathers its waters from the hill-country, between the ranges of Scardus and Orbelus, and flows in a course somewhat south-easterly, receiving several tributaries, the most important being the Ericon. The second of the principal streams is the Lydias, now called the Kara Azmac. This is the river which passes through the lake on which Pella, the capital of Macedonia was situated. It drains the central part of the country, and becomes confluent with the Axius about a league above the entrance of that stream into the sea. Still further to the south-east is the Haliacmon which gathers its streams from the Cambunians, and flows through the marshy districts of Macedonia into the sea. In the time of Herodotus, however, it was in its lower course deflected to the north and joined its waters with those of the Lydias before falling into the gulf.

The valleys of these three rivers are separated from one another by tranverse chains of mountains, branching from the Scardus. The range dividing the Haliacmon from the Lydias is called Bermius, and that between the Lydias and the Axius, Dysorum. Macedonia was thus geographically constituted of three principal valleys, all opening out upon the Thermaic gulf.

It is, however, with the political divisions of the country rather than its physical constitution that the historian is mostly concerned. Within the limits of Macedonia, then, as it was inherited by Philip, son of Amyntas, were to be found the following provinces: Lyncestis, Stymphalia, Orestis, Elimea, Eordæa, Pieria, Bottiæa, Emathia, Mygdonia, Chalcidice, Bisaltia, and Pæonia with its subdivisions. LYNCESTIS, the first of these districts lay to the west, next to Illyria, from which it was divided by the Bernus range. It was bounded on the north by Pæonia. The principal stream was the Erigonus, and the principal thoroughfare the Egnatian Way. The district was originally inhabited by an independent tribe governed by their own king.

To the south-east of Lyncestis lay the territory of ORESTIS. The barbarians of this district also were originally independent of the Macedonian kings. The country was of small extent and contained but few towns, the principal being Celetrum and Orestia, the latter the birthplace of Ptolemy Lagus. Immediately south of this district was the small country of STYMPHALIA, the principal town of which was Gyrtona. Like the two preceding, the original Stymphæi were barbarians, and retained their independence until conquered by the Macedonian kings. Immediately east was the province of ELIMEA, a mountainous and barren country, but of great importance to the Macedonians; for through this district lay the passes into Epirus and Thessaly. The principal river of Elimea was the Haliacmon; the principal towns were a city of the same name as the province and Æane, said to have been founded by colonists from Tyre.

Adjacent to Elimea on the east was the little barbarian state of EORDÆA, which, like its neighbors, maintained its independence until subjugated by Macedon. Through this district passed the great Egnatian Way, which reached from Edessa and Pella into Greece. The two principal towns of the state were Cellæ and Arnissa. Further to the south-east was the celebrated district of PIERIA, said to have been the birthplace of Orpheus and the native seat of the Muses. Pieria was contiguous to Thessaly, and was nestled at the base of Olympus. It contained the towns of Phila—situated near the famous Thessalian vale of Tempe—Heraclia, and Dium, one of the chief cities of Macedonia; also the small town of Pimplea, in which Orpheus was born, and near which is the conical tumulus, said to be the tomb of that mythical maker of song. In this same district was the city of Pydna, celebrated for the great victory gained there by Publius Æmilius over the Macedonians under

Perseus—by which event the Empire founded by Philip was at last extinguished. Some miles to the north of this city was the town of Methone, before the walls of which, as will be remembered, the right eye of Philip was shot out by an archer.[1] Another Pierian town of some importance was Phylace; and a short distance to the north of this was Agassæ, which was occupied by Æmilius after the battle of Pydna.

The next subdivision of ancient Macedonia was the province of BOTTIÆA, situated between the Haliacmon and the Lydias. One of the principal towns of this district was Alorus, on the left bank of the Haliacmon. At the mouth of the Lydias was the city of Jehnæ, and a hundred and twenty stadia up that river was Pella, the Macedonian capital.

EMATHEA was, as already said, the most ancient of the Macedonian districts. It was the small but fertile region in which was planted the central root of that great tree which was destined to overshadow the nation. According to tradition this province was first colonized by a company of Argives, called the Temenidæ. The chief city was Ægæ, or Edessa, which up to the time of Philip was regarded as the capital of Macedonia. The other important cities were Cydræ, Brysi, Mieza, and Cyrrhus, in the latter of which was the temple of Athene, built by Alexander. Nor should failure be made to mention the two cities of Citium and Idomene, the former of which was the head-quarters of Perseus, and the latter of some note on account of its capture by Sitalces, king of the Odrysæ.

The province of MYGDONIA extended from the Axius to the Strymon. It remained under the dominion of the primitive barbarians until they were expelled by the Temenidæ. The principal river of the district was the Axius, and the chief town Amydon, which is mentioned in the Iliad as a place of note. At the mouth of the Axius was the city of Chalastra, which was one of the first places taken by Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. On the river Echedorus, which loses itself in a vast marsh close to the Axius, was situated the ancient city of Thernæ, the modern Thessalonica, one of the most celebrated of the Macedonian cities.

To the south and east of Mygdonia lay the peculiar province of CHALCIDICE, consisting of several peninsulas, jutting into the Ægean. This region was originally colonized by people from the island of Eubœa. The Chalcidicians for a long time maintained their independence, but were at length subjugated and added to the conquests of the Macedonian kings. The peninsula of Pallene was of special importance. Here was said to have occurred the combat between the gods and the Titans. A more authentic distinction was the possession of the rich city of Potidæa, which occupied the neck of the isthmus by which Pallene was joined to the main-land. This place was founded at a very early date by a colony of Corinthians, but in after times it became a dependency of Athens. Afterwards, near the same site, was founded by Cassander the city of Cassandrea, which at one time was the most opulent municipality in all Macedonia. Other important towns in the peninsula were Clitæ, Aphytis, Neapolis, Thrambus, Mende, and Scione, all of which are mentioned by Herodotus.

Between Pallene and the next of the three peninsulas, named Sithonia, at the head of the gulf, was the celebrated city of Olynthus, founded by Eretrians from Eubœa. This corporation at a very early date adopted a democratic form of government, and taking up the federative system, which had been so successfully employed by the Athenians, became the center of that Olynthian league which will occupy our attention in the times of King Philip. The people of the Sithonian peninsula were of Thracian origin, though several of the towns—such as Galepsus and Torone—were founded by Greek colonies.

The third of the Chalcidician peninsulas is called Acte. It is that tongue of land which terminates in Mount Athos, and which was cut off from the shore by the canal of Xerxes. Acte abounded in towns, of which the principal were Sane—on the Singitic gulf—Uranopolis, Dium, Apollonia, Thyssus, Cleonæ, and Acanthus, which stood at the other extremity of the canal from Sane. This was perhaps the most important city in this part of Chalcidice,

[1] See *sequitur*, p. 621.

and will be frequently mentioned as the scene of historical events. Nor should Arethusa, the burial-place of Euripides, be omitted from a list of Chalcidician towns.

The next of the Macedonian provinces was BISALTIA, situated between the river Strymon and the lake Bolbe. This district was originally settled by colonists from Thrace. It was governed by native kings until the time of Xerxes, and soon afterwards fell into the hands of the Macedonians. The chief town of the province was Argilus, said to have been founded by a colony from the island of Andros. In the interior were several other towns—Ossa, Bisaltes, Berta, Arolus, and Callithera—of no great importance in Macedonian history.

The country of PÆONIA, though after the times of Philip included in Macedon, was previously an independent state. It was by far the largest of those original territories on which the son of Amyntas laid the foundations of his dominion. As early as the time of the Trojan war the Pæonians were powerful enough to be conspicuous in the host of Agamemnon. They embraced originally several barbarian tribes; but these were ultimately gathered into one nation, governed by a single chief. The subordinate provinces into which Pæonia was divided were Pelagonia, with its cities of Stubera and Bryanium; Deuriopis; and the countries of the Almopes, Iori, Agrianes, and Doberes. The various tribes inhabiting these districts gradually lost their individuality, and were absorbed into a single people.

The geography of Macedonia should not be dismissed without a reference to the great thoroughfare by which the different provinces and towns were connected. This was known by its Roman name of *Via Egnatia*, or the Egnatian Way. It was a great military road leading from Lyncestis, on the confines of Illyria to Edessa, Pella, Methone, and the other principal Macedonian cities. From the main way several roads branched north and south, the former leading into Pæonia, Dardania, Mœsia, and the Danubian districts, and the latter into the southern provinces of the kingdom, Thessaly and Central Greece.

In the course of these geographical notes on Macedonia references not a few have been made to the primitive peoples by whom the country was settled. It will now be appropriate to notice somewhat more fully those early populations and their movements down to the time when the kingdom was firmly established by the House of Amyntas. The origin of the Macedonian dynasty has been involved in much dispute. Only one thing may be regarded as certainly established, and that is that the royal family was sprung from the race of the Temenidæ of Argos, and that these were, according to tradition, the descendants of Hercules. The myth is to the effect that the Argive Cavanus, who was the son of Temenus, who was the son of Hercules, led out a colony from his native city, and, arriving in Emathia, overcame the reigning king, Midas, and took possession of Edessa, the capital. It would thus appear that the dynasty was Dorian in its origin, being thus allied with the Lacedæmonians, more than with the Æolian and Ionian races. Herodotus, however, recites the tradition somewhat differently. By him we are told that three brothers—Gavanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas—descendants of Temenus, left Argos, and making their way into Upper Macedonia, succeeded in establishing a kingdom which fell to Perdiccas, the youngest of the three; and with this statement of the Father of History the concurrent testimony of Thucydides may also be adduced. By some authors it is held that there was a double migration, and that the three brothers were the grandsons of Cavanus.

Of the reigns of the first four kings who succeeded the mythical PERDICCAS nothing is known; but in the reign of AMYNTAS (B.C. 537–498), who was the fifth in descent from the founder, the affairs of Macedonia begin to come into the light. It was already the beginning of the Persian aggressions in the West. Megabazus, the general of Darius, having already made considerable conquests in Thrace and Pæonia, advanced to the northern borders of Macedonia; and Amyntas was glad to make his submission as a condition of peace. Soon afterwards some of the Persian officers offered grave insults to the Macedonian women, whereupon Alexander, son of Amyntas, took summary vengeance on the offenders. A diffi-

culty thus arose which was about to bring on war, but hostilities were avoided by the timely marriage of Gygea, daughter of Amyntas, to Bubares, the Persian deputy, who had been sent out to obtain satisfaction for the murder of the Great King's officers.

On his accession to the throne this prince ALEXANDER presented himself for admission to participation in the Olympic games. He was at first refused, but on an examination of his claims to be an Argive by descent, the managers decided that the Macedonian dynasty was indeed Greek, and the prince was accordingly admitted.

The reign of Alexander covered the period of the great Persian invasion of Greece. Macedonia was occupied by the invaders, and the king had a difficult part to perform between the Greeks with whom he sympathized, and the Persians whom he dreaded. He sent much secret information to the allied commanders, but at the same time succeeded in retaining the confidence of the barbarians. At last Mardonius sent him to Athens in a final effort which he made to detach that commonwealth from the Greek league.

During the reign of Perdiccas, who succeeded his father, Alexander (B. C. 476), on the throne, the affairs of the kingdom became more complicated. The prince was of a crafty disposition, and took part according to his interest in the politics of Greece. He sided first with the Lacedæmonian and then with the Athenian party, as success inclined from one to the other. While in league with the Spartans, he induced the revolt of several Athenian dependencies in the north; but for this course he was presently punished with an invasion of his own kingdom by Sitalces, king of Thrace, by whom Macedonia was well-nigh overrun.

From a description given by Thucydides of the extent of the Macedonian dominions in the time of Perdiccas, it may be seen that the country then embraced nearly all the provinces and tribes which were included under the authority of Philip, the father of Alexander. Pæonia had not yet been subjugated, but the remaining districts were nearly all ruled by the house of Temenus. It was a proper retribution to the Macedonian king that the war which he fomented in the north between Athens and Sparta, and which led to the expedition of Brasidas, brought to him no augmentation of power, but only disappointment.

Quite unlike Perdiccas was his son and successor, ARCHELAÜS. He soon proved himself to be the most prudent and liberal of the earlier kings. To his single reign Thucydides ascribes a greater improvement in the condition of the kingdom than to all the eight that had preceded. The internal affairs of the state now began to receive the attention and support of the government. Roads were built, fortresses erected, the army equipped and organized. It was the dawn of art and literature at the Macedonian court. Distinguished men were invited thither by the king, who sought to substitute the reign of intelligence for the reign of force. At his capital Euripides resided for many years, supported by royal favor. Zeuxis, the celebrated painter, lent his genius to the work of decorating the residence of the king. Socrates also was invited to reside in Edessa, but, as usual, that resolute and saturnine genius refused to be beholden to any. A great light began thus to be diffused through the North, which, if less resplendent than the glow which kindled over Athens, was nevertheless such as to dispel the shadows beyond Olympus.

Archelaüs fell by the hand of an assassin, though the occasion and circumstances of his death are not fully known. After his reign Macedonia suffered a decline. Of the careers of the four following kings very little has been preserved either in history or tradition. The fifth sovereign from Archelaüs was AMYNTAS, who inherited the kingdom in a distracted condition, and suffered most of the ills of kingly misfortune. Domestic troubles kept him embroiled, and foreign foes were busy on his borders. Of these the most active were the Illyrians on the west, and the Olynthians on the north-east. From the former he purchased a respite by means of bribes and presents, and from the latter he was saved by the interference of the Spartans. For twenty-four years (B. C. 393–369) he supported the arduous duties of government and died, leaving three sons to the care of their mother, Eurydice.

Of these sons the eldest was Alexander; the second, Perdiccas; and the youngest, PHILIP—*that* Philip who was destined to make his power felt in all the West, and to pave the way for the still greater achievements of his son. Thus through the region of myth and tradition have been traced the brief annals of Macedonia from the days of the earlier Temenidæ to the time when the great state of the North, under the direction of the son of Amyntas, began first to be distinctly felt as a political power, and then to rise rapidly to an unequivocal ascendency over all the surrounding kingdoms.

CHAPTER XLIX.—REIGN OF PHILIP.

OF the career of Philip of Macedon a sketch has already been given in the History of Greece. To him the Macedonian Empire owed its foundation and strength. Without the masterful abilities of his more distinguished son, without the far-reaching ambition of Cæsar, he nevertheless possessed the genius to grasp the condition of his times, and to plant on the ruins of surrounding states the foot of power and dominion.

Philip was the third and youngest son of Amyntas. The eldest brother, Alexander, lost his life in a civil turmoil. PERDICCAS, the next eldest, was hard pressed by opposition, and was on the eve of losing the kingdom, when Pelopidas, the Theban, interfered in his behalf, and secured under his powerful influence the peaceful possession of the crown. It was in gratitude for this support that Perdiccas, as an earnest of good faith and a pledge for the fidelity of Macedonia to the interests of Thebes, gave into the friendly custody of Pelopidas the youth Philip and thirty others from the best families in the kingdom.

Thus it was that destiny prepared the way for greatness. For Philip could hardly have become the distinguished monarch that he was but for the incident which, bringing him to Thebes, threw him into contact with the civilization of the Greeks. His education was of precisely the sort to fashion a hero. He was established in the family of Polymnus, father of Epaminondas; and here he absorbed his first ideas of politics and generalship. He became at an early age familiar with the literature and customs of the Greeks, learned their language, became a Greek himself. The example and influence of Epaminondas, whose conversation and friendship he enjoyed without restriction, molded his views and sentiments. The Theban became his model. He grew like that which he admired; and although his native talents and ambitions were by no means subordinated to the Theban environment, yet so far as education could go towards the shaping of character and the determination of future activities, to that extent undoubtedly was Philip the result of the forces which played upon him while domiciled in Thebes. It must be confessed, moreover, that the Macedonian prince showed himself to be an apter pupil of Epaminondas in the matter of acquiring military skill than in imitating the sterling integrity and moral virtues of his model. For in essential soundness of character Philip was by no means comparable with the Theban general.

During his residence at the Bœotian capital the prince, accompanied by his masters, traveled into other parts of Greece. He visited Athens and was profoundly impressed with the institutions and peculiarities of that city. There he became acquainted with the greatest geniuses of the age. Among his acquaintances and friends were Plato, Isocrates, and Theophrastus. He studied the Athenian character and apprehended its weakness and its strength. He was initiated into the mysteries of Demeter, and while attending one of the celebrations held in honor of this divinity, had the good fortune to meet Olympias, daughter of

the king of Epirus, and mother that was to be of Alexander.

Soon afterwards the prince was called home to enter, under trying circumstances, upon the duties of the kingdom. For a long time Illyria had claimed tribute of Macedonia. During the period when Amyntas, and after him Perdiccas, was supported by the powerful influence of Thebes, the claim had been refused. But when Pelopidas fell in the struggle with Alexander of Pheræ and Epaminondas was presently killed at the battle of Mantinea, Macedonia was left to her own resources, and the claims of the Illyrians were renewed. This pretense, however, was resisted by Perdiccas, who raised an army and took the field to maintain the independence of his kingdom. A hard battle was fought with the king of Illyria, in which the latter was completely victorious. Perdiccas was killed and four thousand of his troops cut to pieces. Macedonia was thus to all seeming left to the mercy of the foe.

Now it was, in B. C. 383, that the youthful PHILIP was hurriedly recalled from his sojourn in Greece to assume the duties of the tottering government. It was, however, as regent for the infant son of Perdiccas, and not in his own right, that he began his public career. The circumstances were disheartening to the last degree. The Illyrians were ravaging the country as the sequel of the victory over Perdiccas. The Pæonians, encouraged by supposed immunity from punishment, descended from the mountains and plundered as they would. Two claimants to the throne, Pausanias and Argæus, came forward in open opposition to Philip. The Athenians were hostile on account of the alliance of Macedonia with Thebes, and sent an army to the North to prevent the rise of Philip to power. The Thracians also availed themselves of the opportunity to make an invasion of the country.

The prince of Macedon, nothing daunted, soon showed himself equal to the emergency of his country. His confidence inspired the people. An ancient oracle had said that Macedonia, under a son of Amyntas, should rise to the highest pitch of power. Philip was now the only son of Amyntas; and should the prophetic voice of the gods prove false? Soldiers rallied to the standard of the prince destined to victory. The Macedonian phalanx, modeled after that of Thebes as constituted by Epaminondas, was created. From every side of the huge living mass projected an impenetrable thicket of spears. With this invincible body of destruction, Philip bore down upon the Illyrians and Pæonians, and in a short time routed them from the country.

This work was less serious than that of disposing of the rival claimants. In the principal Macedonian towns there was a strong party in favor of Argæus. A fleet was sent out by Athens to uphold his pretensions. The squadron anchored before Methone, a city on the Thermaic gulf, and here a junction was effected between the Macedonian malcontents and the Athenians. The combined forces then proceeded to lay siege to Edessa, the capital of the province of Pieria; for it was believed that the capture of this place would decide the fate of the kingdom. But Philip was on the alert, and before the arrival of Argæus before the town, the defenses were so strengthened that it could not be taken. The pretender then became alarmed for his safety and sought to retreat to Methone; but on the way thither he was attacked by Philip and killed. The Macedonians in the army of the malcontents were kindly treated by the king and incorporated with his own forces; and with singular liberality the Athenians under the command of Argæus, were loaded with favors and sent home without any mark of contempt or cruelty. It was upon such acts as these that the future popularity of Philip in Central Greece was laid upon secure foundations. Generosity in the conduct of war was a new thing under Grecian skies—a fact which at the first it was difficult to understand or appreciate.

By this time the Illyrians had rallied from their first chastisement and gathered in great force on the western frontier. They were led by their king Bardyllus, now more than ninety years of age. A decisive battle was fought in which the new tactics and spirit of the Macedonians bore down all oppositon. A signal victory was gained by Philip. Bardyllus was slain and the shattered powers of his government were unable to offer further resistance.

Illyria was converted into a Macedonian province. This was the last of the premonitory struggles by which the authority of Philip was established on a basis that could not be shaken.

The ambition of the king, however, was by no means appeased by these initial successes. The condition of Greece, moreover, at this time was such as to furnish abundant food for the aspiring spirit of the Macedonian ruler. In the long struggle between Thebes and Sparta, by which the resources of each had been, in a measure, exhausted, Athens had, in some degree, regained her pristine influence among the Grecian states. Epaminondas was dead, and the brief but glorious ascendency of Thebes had perished with him. Sparta was so broken by the long struggle of the war, that she exhibited no present symptoms of a revival.

ARISTOTLE.—Museo Visconti, Iconographica Greca.

The Athenians were thus left in a temporary predominance in the affairs of Greece. But a foe more dangerous than the hosts of Persia, more to be dreaded than the Spartan Phalanx, was rapidly sapping the foundation of Attic strength. The spirit of the people had given way to fickleness and frivolity. Patriotism was well-nigh dead. The old heroic virtues were extinct. The new vices of licentiousness ran riot in the streets; and even the shrill clarion of Demosthenes was unable to evoke from the lethargy of his country, the indignant flash of ancient heroism.

Nor were the Phocians and Thessalians in a better condition to resist the possible growth of Macedonia. The former people, brave and daring as they were, had exhausted their energies in the conflicts of the Sacred War, and the latter had been so mischievously governed by Alexander of Pheræ, and were by disposition so reckless and eager for change as to form no bulwark against the designs of such a prince as Philip. That discerning monarch readily perceived in the condition of the Grecian states that Athens, being the most influential, should be first won to his interests.

Being by nature crafty and diplomatic, Philip adopted the policy of creating and fostering in Athens a Macedonian party, upon which he could rely in the work of extending his influence over Greece. He accordingly espoused the Athenian cause in the Olynthian war, and aided the Greeks in regaining possession of Amphipolis. The latter, with their usual duplicity, soon repaid him by inducing the seaport town of Pydna to revolt, and it was in vain that Philip remonstrated against the bad faith of his allies. Thus early in the relation of the two powers was a breach effected and the seed sown of unending distrust. The immediate effect was as unfortunate for Athens as it was displeasing to Philip; for the Greeks were obliged, for the time, to abandon the siege of Amphipolis, and to try to save the honor of the state by the capture of a few unimportant towns in Thrace. But what they thus failed to accomplish by force of arms was soon effected by one of their commanders. A certain Charidemus, having gone over to the Olynthians, succeeded in persuading the Amphipolitans that their interests required them to enter into an alliance with Athens.

In the mean time Philip added to the dignity and promise of his court by marrying Olympias, daughter of the king of Epirus, a princess of great vivacity and beauty. Within a year, and on the very day of the announcement of a great victory by his general, Parmenio, Philip received the news that an heir was born to the throne of Macedon. It was to the king an event of great joy. He immediately expressed his delight in the following letter the philosopher Aristotle, whom he at once selected as the future teacher of his son:

"King Philip to Aristotle. Health! You are to know that a son hath been born to us. We thank the gods not so much for having bestowed him on us as for bestowing him at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure ourselves that you will form him a prince worthy to be our successor, and a king worthy of Macedon. Farewell."

Returning to the relation of Philip to the Greeks, the next important complications to be noted were those arising from the Social War. Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and Cos, supported by king Mausolus, rose against the Athenians and entered into a league for mutual defense. A declaration was published that the members of the alliance were "resolved henceforward to protect their own commerce with their own fleets; and wanting thus nothing from the Athenian navy they would, of course, pay nothing for its support." At the same time an insurrection broke out in the island of Euboea; and the Thebans, being solicited to aid those in rebellion, passed over thither with an army. But the Athenian general, Timotheus, succeeded without great difficulty in bringing the insurgents to submission, and as for the Thebans, who had rashly rushed into the conflict, they were glad to capitulate with the privilege of retiring from the island.

At this juncture, however, and before Timotheus could proceed against the other states in insurrection, the alarming news was borne from the North that Philip, justly angered at the Athenians for having induced the inhabitants of Pydna to revolt against him, had made an alliance with Olynthus, thus threatening the overthrow of Potidæa, Methone, and all the other dependencies of Athens in that region. Owing, however, to the distracted condition of Attic public opinion, it was thought better to enter into negotiations with Philip and the Olynthians rather than to take up the sword. Thus would the Athenians be left free to bring the Social War to successful conclusion. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched from Athens to Macedon, and a counter embassy was presently sent by Philip.

Not much headway was made, however, toward the establishment of peace. The politic Macedonian king made some concessions to the Athenians, especially by the surrender of the town Anthemus, but he reserved his settled purpose to wrench from the Greeks, at the earliest opportunity, the possession of Amphipolis. Nor was the occasion long deferred. Having fomented the discord which already existed in the city, and strengthened as far as practicable the Macedonian party among the Amphipolitans, he suddenly besieged the place and compelled a surrender. The Athenian party within the walls was subjected to no persecutions. The prisoners were set at liberty, only a few of the more rampant leaders of the Athenian faction being reserved for banishment.

Having secured this important conquest, Philip immediately turned his attention to the two towns of Pydna and Potidæa. In both of these cities, as well as in all the other Chalcidician towns, a strong party remained attached to the interests of the king, and by a prudent use of this friendly faction the work of subjugation was abridged and facilitated. Such was the influence of the king with the inhabitants of both Pydna and Potidæa that both places were taken without any prolonged investment or serious opposition from within.

In both captures Philip again displayed his magnanimity. Indeed, Potidæa was voluntarily restored to the Olynthians, the king being careful, however, to protect the Athenian faction from the rage of the natives. His liberality extended even to supplying with a free hand the needs of those who had been suddenly reduced by the capitulation to poverty. The effect of this unusual procedure was still further to strengthen the ever-widening influence of the Macedonian. All the towns from the borders of Thessaly to the Thracian Chersonesus, acting of their own accord, renounced their relations with the Greeks and added themselves to the dominions of the king. Even in the streets of Athens the praises of Philip were freely spoken by his friends and admirers.

So great was the embarrassment of the Greeks, occasioned by the liberality of the popular monarch of the North, that the latter was left comparatively free to prosecute what plan soever he might adopt for the further extension of his power. His next enterprise was the conquest of Thrace. The king of this country was Sitalces—a kind of "genius," being a mixture of ruler and rhapsodist. He affected in his government the manners of the East. He chose not war as a pursuit, or to devote himself to those works which the ancients regarded as heroic. To Iphicrates, the

favorite Athenian general, he gave his daughter in marriage, trusting by this soft method of substitution to station a warrior between himself and harm. Thus might he find opportunity to retire with his court to some Arcadian river-bank, and there sit musing among the flowers while the brutal race of his fellowmen surrendered itself to the bloody intoxications of war. Albeit the king of Macedon made short work with this poetic sovereign, who, unable to meet the pupil of Epaminondas in the field, sent to him a literary effusion, with which he thought to soften the stony heart of Mars. But Mars and his officers were infinitely amused. They laughed immoderately at this new species of tactics, and then proceeded to complete the conquest of the country.[1] In the course of the expedition the gold mines of Thrace were captured by the Macedonians, who immediately began to work them with such success that Philip's revenues are said therefrom to have been augmented by more than a million of dollars annually.

The king of Macedon, caring nothing for his friend Sitalces, whom he had just subdued, permitted that ruler to remain in nominal authority. Scarcely, however, had Philip withdrawn from Thrace when an insurrection broke out under the leadership of Miltocythes. The latter was supported by the Athenian party. Nevertheless Philip, though seeing clearly that the movement was instigated by his enemies, permitted the revolt to take its course until Sitalces was assassinated by a certain Python, who thereupon repaired to Athens and was rewarded for the murder. Not even this circumstance, nor the subsequent persecution of the infant son of Sitalces by the Athenian party, induced Philip to interfere. Keeping steadily in view the one great purpose of extending his authority over the whole of the Grecian peninsula, he was willing—even desired—that the Athenians and Thracians should exhaust themselves in the struggle, to the end that he might be the gainer from their weakness.

The events which led to the outbreak of the Sacred War, beginning as it did in the animosity of Thebes and Phocis, and involving in its course nearly all of Central and most of Southern Greece, have already been narrated in the preceding Book.[1] It will be remembered that the Phocians, under the lead of the able Philomelus, and supported, though somewhat feebly, by Archidamus of Sparta, availed themselves of the resources of the Delphic temple, organized an army of mercenaries and defended themselves year after year against the assaults of the Thebans and their allies. They even defied the wrath of heaven, for the decree pronounced against them by the venerable Amphictyons was set at naught.

In the struggle that ensued the Athenians, though nominally arraying themselves with the enemies of Phocis, in reality stood aloof. For their own complications in the North, and especially the dread and suspicion of Philip, kept their attention directed to himward rather than to the vortex which was whirling around Delphi. There is good ground for believing that Athens, even at this time, contemplated sending an invitation to Philip to interfere actively against the defilers of the Delphic temple, and thus to become a member of the Hellenic body. Perhaps the suggestion of such a course was inspired by the king himself, who greatly desired in this half-peaceable way to become a participant in the affairs of Greece.

In the mean time, however, Philip's interest was more immediately excited by the project of adding Methone to his possessions. This city was accordingly invested, and was brought to the brink of capitulation before the Athenians could interfere. Nor did their troops arrive, even at the last, in time to save the Methoneans from the clutches of their adversary. The town was taken in B. C. 353, and although the fortifications were razed to the ground and the lands divided among the soldiers, the prisoners were treated with the greatest moderation and humanity. Each was allowed without molestation to go quietly forth

[1] It was during this campaign of Philip in Thrace that he came upon the Thæsian colony of Crenidæ. Liking the situation of the settlement, he dislodged the occupants, and substituted in their place a company of Macedonians. The new colony was named Philippi—afterward rendered famous by the overthrow of Brutus and Cassius.

[1] See Book Eighth, p. 605.

in search of a new home. Whether acting from humane and philanthropic motives or merely from the suggestions of policy, the conduct of the great Macedonian was in most grateful contrast with that of the other heroes of his age.

It was during the siege of Methone that Philip had the misfortune to lose one of his eyes. A random arrow discharged from the rampart fell square in the king's face and destroyed one-half of his sight. When the arrow-head was drawn away, it was found to contain the following label: "Astor to Philip's right eye." It appeared on inquiry that the unerring missile had been discharged by an offended archer who had recently offered his services to the king and been rejected. He had represented to Philip that his skill with the bow was so great that he could kill a small bird on the wing. The king not believing the story had put off the applicant with the remark, "Well, well, I shall make use of thee when I go to war with the starlings." Astor had then joined the Methoneans and now vindicated his skill in a way never to be forgotten.

"ASTOR TO PHILIP'S RIGHT EYE."

Meanwhile the Phocian general, Philomelus, was succeeded by Onomarchus, who in a short time effected an alliance with Lycophron, generalissimo of Thessaly, whom Philip had recently deposed from office. The issue was thus made of sustaining Lycophron by Phocian and overthrowing him by Macedonian influence. Philip marched into Thessaly, as did also Phayllus, brother of Onomarchus. A severe battle was fought and the Phocians were defeated; but Onomarchus immediately came to the scene with another army, and the victory was reversed by the overthrow of the Macedonians.

It was now the turn of Philip to rally and fight for his kingdom; for had Onomarchus successfully followed up the advantage gained by the defeat of his adversary, the king might have been hard pressed to save his crown; but to him the defeat which he had sustained was but a temporary reverse. He at once reörganized his forces and augmented them to twenty thousand men. Onomarchus again came to the contest with an equal number of troops. Philip openly avowed his cause to be that of the Greeks—the cause of Apollo and liberty against irreligion and the despotism of a tyrant.

Taking advantage of the superstition of the people, he decked the heads of his soldiers with laurel, the emblem sacred to Phœbus. A spirit of enthusiasm was thus diffused through the army; nor did the Phocians come to the conflict without the highest incentives of battle.

The struggle that ensued was long and bloody. As between the Macedonian and Phocian phalanxes, it seemed doubtful which would bear the other down. At length, however, the fate of the day was decided by a charge of the Thessalian cavalry which broke the lines of Onomarchus, and was the beginning of his overthrow. The Phocians wavered and then fled. They were pressed into the sea by the triumphant Macedonians. Nor did the Athenian squadron, which just then hove in sight, arrive in time to bring succor to the fugitives. Six thousand of the Phocians fell in the battle and the flight. Onomarchus himself was killed and his body hung on a gibbet, Departing from his usual method in victory, and yielding to that despicable spirit of religious bigotry, which caught from the supposed vindictiveness of the gods, has in every age converted men into demons, Philip gave his assent to the murder of the three thousand prisoners who fell into his hands. The effect of this decisive victory was to reverse completely the relative prospects of the two parties in the North, and still further to open the way for the ambitious projects of the king. His position was already such as to enable him to influence the destinies—at least indirectly—of most of the states of Greece. His army was the most effective in all Europe. His soldiers believed in his talents and courage. He had shown himself capable of magnanimity. Even superstition looked out from under her cowl, and gave him a sardonic smile as the avenger of sacrilege.

After the defeat and death of Onomarchus, the command of the Phocian army was devolved on Phayllus. The treasures of Delphi still sufficed to hire and equip armies. When it was seen that Apollo did not come down in sublime anger to destroy the profaners of his shrine, several of the other states seemed to have caught an itching palm for a share in the divine resources. The pliable Athens was not proof against the seductions of the sacred gold, and a force of five thousand of her citizens were enrolled under the mercenary banner of Phocis. The Achæans, too, were ready to share the spoils, and sent a contingent to be paid from the Delphic treasury.

Notwithstanding these preparations, however, the Thebans showed themselves more than a match for the heterogeneous soldiery commanded by Phayllus. The war continued with varying successes until finally at CHÆRONEA a decisive battle was fought in which the Phocians were disastrously routed. After this the scene of hostilities was transferred to Peloponnesus. Sparta took up the cause of Phocis. Megalopolis was besieged, and the adherents of the sacred cause were hard pressed, until the Thebans came to the rescue.

In the mean time the Athenians were busy in planning trouble for Philip in Thrace and Thessaly. Their most successful piece of diplomacy was in the instigation of the revolt of Olynthus. The king himself was absent on a campaign in Thrace when the news was borne to him of the Olynthian secession. It was not easy to perceive for what reason that people had rebelled against his authority; but it is certain that the Athenians were privy to what was done, for they immediately despatched a fleet under the command of Chares to uphold the insurgents. It was late in the year before Philip could return from his Thracian campaign and direct his attention to the rebellious city. When he approached with a large army the fears of the inhabitants got the better of their rash patriotism, and they sent out envoys to the king to discuss the question of a settlement. But Philip was now thoroughly angered, and resolved to punish the Olynthians according to their deserts. The city was rigorously besieged, and was soon obliged to surrender at discretion. In this case the discretion was used with great severity. Olynthus was leveled to the ground. The people were made prisoners and sold by public auction into slavery. No age or sex was spared by the enraged king, whose wrath, as is alleged, was fanned by the philosopher, Aristotle, who was present at the sale, pointing out to Philip the richest citizens, and suggest

ing in what manner the heaviest ransoms might be obtained.

By this time the power of the king of Macedon was so well established, and his warlike fame had sounded so far, as to make even the factious Greeks wary of further hostilities. They accordingly made overtures for peace, and sending a deputation of their most distinguished citizens to represent the state, opened negotiations with the king. The two orators, DEMOSTHENES and ÆSCHINES, were the spokesmen on behalf of the Greeks. After some length of discussion, in which it is said that the former, owing to the strangeness of the situation and the importance of the business in hand, appeared to a great disadvantage as compared with his rival, the conference was adjourned, and a counter embassy was presently thereafter sent to Athens to make known the views of the king respecting the terms of peace.

Then followed the usual hot discussions in the Athenian assembly, and then in B. C. 346, five plenipotentiaries were appointed to go to Pella, the Macedonian capital, and conclude a settlement. Here the terms of the treaty were finally decided. All the states were brought to peace except Halus, which was excluded at the dictation of Athens, and Phocis, which was made an exception by the demand of Philip. Thus was a pacification effected between Athens and Macedonia, and Philip was freed to bring the Phocian war to a conclusion.

Accordingly, as soon as the treaty was made, a decree was passed by the Athenian assembly declaring that unless the Phocians should at once surrender the temple of Delphi to the Amphictyons, Athens would enter the league against them. Philip himself addressed a letter of the same tenor to his allies in Central Greece, inviting all to join him in bringing to a sudden end the resistance of the contumacious Phocians. This proposition was rejected, however, by the Athenians, who greatly desired the friendly interest of Philip when it was manifested at a proper distance. Their duplicity, moreover, soon led them to open negotiations with Phocis; but the latter distrusted the overtures of her would-be ally, and continued the war.

It was at this juncture of affairs that the scholarly and eloquent ISOCRATES gave to the Greeks his elaborate oration on the condition and true policy of the country. On the whole the theory of the address was that the Greek race should accept the leadership of Philip in a crusade against barbarism. A pacific tone was assumed throughout, and the idea of a common cause in which the Greeks and Macedonians should embark against a common enemy was made predominant. The oration was after the manner of the times addressed to Philip, and concluded in the following words: "The sum of what I advise is this—that you act beneficially toward the Greeks; that you reign constitutionally over the Macedonians; that you extend your sway as wide as may be over the barbarians. And thus will you earn the gratitude of all; of the Greeks, for the good you will do them; of the Macedonians, if you will preside over them constitutionally and not tyrannically; and of all others, as far as you relieve them from barbaric despotism, and place them under the mildness of a Grecian administration. Others must have their opinions of what the times require, and will judge for themselves how far what is here written may be adapted to them; but I am fully confident that no one will give you better advice or any more fitly accommodated to the existing state of things."

ISOCRATES.
Museo Visconti.

The effect of this able and dispassionate oration was favorable to a general pacification, but not on the basis of the local independence of the Greek states. The positions assumed by Isocrates were ably and passionately controverted by Demosthenes and other democratic orators. Nor does it appear that Philip himself was at this time especially anxious to assume the office of arbiter in settling the

quarrels of his southern neighbors. For the present he was detained with his campaign against Halus. That brought to a successful conclusion, he once more turned his attention to the affairs of Phocis and resolved to bring the Sacred War to a sudden end.

Collecting a large army, Philip advanced by way of Thermopylæ into Central Greece. Here he was joined by the Thebans. The Phocians quickly perceived that their day had come. Athens was not to be trusted. Sparta had designs of her own. All Peloponnesus was wavering toward the Macedonian interest. The Phocian army was now under command of Phalæcus, who, perceiving the hopelessness of the cause, offered to capitulate. Philip agreed that he should retire unmolested into Southern Greece. The principal towns of Phocis were then surrendered to the king.

The passions of the Thebans against those who had so long resisted them could hardly be restrained; but Philip insisted that the terms should be observed. The general question of what should be done with Phocis and her inhabitants remained to be settled by a congress of the states, which was now convened by Philip at Thermopylæ. Before this body the most cruel demands were made by the extreme party of the Amphictyons. The deputies from Œta demanded that all the Phocians should be hurled down from the cliffs about Delphi; but Philip was less vindictive than Phœbus, and the penalty finally voted by the council, though excessive in its severity, was less bloody than might have been expected.

The terms granted were these: The Phocians should lose forever their place in the Amphictyonic council; the three principal cities of Phocis should be dismantled, and the remaining towns destroyed; no hamlet should be permitted of more than fifty houses, nor any nearer to the next than a furlong; the heavy arms and horses belonging to the people should be given up; finally, a tax of sixty talents annually should be assessed upon the lands of Phocis until all the squandered treasures of the Delphic shrine should be replaced. To Philip was assigned the duty of enforcing the conditions; and in order that he might the more consistently undertake the settlement, the two votes hitherto belonging to Phocis in the council of the Amphictyons were transferred to him, with full membership in the body.

It appears that, with the exception of the anti-Macedonian party in Athens, nearly all the Greeks were satisfied with the conditions of peace. The moderation of Philip and the general wisdom of the measures which he promoted were such as to elicit hearty praises. Even Demosthenes, in his oration, *On the Crown*, concedes the great popularity of the king in the time just succeeding the treaty. Diodorus, who, however, was more favorable to the Macedonian interest, says: "Philip, after concurring with the Amphictyons in their choice for the common welfare of Greece, providing means for carrying them into execution, and conciliating good will on all sides by his humanity and affability, returned into his kingdom, bearing with him the glory of piety, added to the fame of military talents and bravery; in possession of a popularity which gave him great advantage for the future extension of his power."

The peace thus established was generally accepted as a finality. The smaller states, which had long been subject to the domination of the stronger, found the authority of Philip more tolerable than that of their former masters. All of the Peloponnesian states without exception favored the new *régime*, and in Central Greece, only Athens looked askance at the preëminent influence thus conceded to the king.

The promising heir to the throne of Macedonia was now fourteen years of age. ARISTOTLE, his instructor, resided at the court. Upon him and his influence over the prince, the king bestowed the most anxious attention. The philosopher received royal honors at the hands of his liberal master. He was loaded with favors. His birthplace, the town of Stagira, was rebuilt and beautified by the orders of Philip. The monarch, as a farther mark of consideration, laid out near Pella a spacious and beautiful park, in which were shady walks, rustic seats, marble statues, and cool retreats in which the Peripatetics gathered to discuss the origin of things and the destiny of man.

At this time the most disturbed region adjacent to King Philip's dominions was Thrace. In the eastern part of this country a leader named Cersobleptes arose, and acting under an inspiration from Athens, gathered a large force of insurgents. It was found necessary to bring a Macedonian army into the country before the rebellion could be suppressed. The work, however, was easily accomplished, and sickness and death had been scattered throughout Greece; nor did such reports fail to produce the usual results. The Athenians seized the opportunity to organize a fleet and send it against the maritime dependencies of Macedon. Marauding expeditions were made along the coast, and in defiance of the terms of the recent treaty, the influence of the Greeks was used to induce revolt and dissensions in Philip's

ARISTOTLE AND HIS PUPIL, ALEXANDER.

the coast districts of Thrace were incorporated with Macedonia.

Soon afterwards the king undertook an expedition into barbarous Scythia; but the northern wilds proved to him as they had done to Darius, a more formidable foe than a phalanx of spears in an open field. Philip was snowbound in a desolate country where he could find no enemies. After his army had been brought to the borders of starvation he was glad with the opening of spring to make his way back to his own capital.

Before his return, however, rumors of his kingdom. The Athenian admiral, Diopithes, instigated by the clamors of the assembly, now under the lead of Demosthenes, proceeded to positive hostility, and took by storm two towns belonging to Philip. Those who escaped from the assault were dispersed into the Chersonesus, and the Macedonian envoys who were sent to remonstrate against the outrage, were thrown into prison. In the next place an embargo was laid upon all ships sailing into Macedonian ports, by which means the growing commerce of the kingdom was suddenly cut off and destroyed.

While this business was progressing in the North, Demosthenes entered into correspondence with Persia, with a view to securing the coöperation of that country against the growing power of Philip. The project was successful to the extent of obtaining from the court at Susa a large remittance of money to be used by the Athenians according to their discretion. By this means the fleets were still further strengthened, and the island of Eubœa, long alienated from Athens, was won back to her old relations.

Meanwhile Philip returned from his Scythian campaign. It is related that as he was making his way back to his capital he was attacked by a wild people called the Triballi, in the passes of the Mœsian mountains. So sudden and fierce was the onset that for a while the Macedonians were well-nigh overwhelmed. Nothing but the desperate exertions of the king and the valor of his soldiery saved him from utter rout. Philip himself was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and was about to be taken when the prince Alexander, rushed to his side and covered him with his shield. Victory finally declared for the Macedonians. The barbarians were driven back with great losses, but the king's army also suffered not a little, and himself was lamed for life.[1]

As soon as Philip was himself again he undertook the reconquest of those cities which had revolted against him. His first movements were directed against Perinthus and other towns on the Hellespont. In this enterprise, however, he was, on account of the weakness of the Macedonian navy, unable to make any headway, and the campaign had to be abandoned. This want of success greatly exhilarated the Athenians, and Demosthenes redoubled his exertions to secure favorable alliances for Athens, and to induce further defection among the dependencies of Macedonia.

[1] Philip was greatly embarrassed by his wounded limb. He is reported to have been sensitive on the score of his lameness. It was on this account that Alexander indulged in his famous piece of pleasantry at his father's expense: "How can you, sir," said the prince, "be displeased at an accident which *at every step* serves to remind you of your valor?"

At this juncture of affairs the Greek states were again thrown into commotion by the prospect of war among themselves. The people of Amphissa, seeing in some of the grounds sacred to Apollo a fine opportunity of gardening, set at defiance the old Amphictyonic decree and began to honor nature with cultivation. This act raised the cry of sacrilege, and another sacred war was imminent; but the influence of Philip was so great that he was elected president of the Amphictyons and was thus brought into a position to mitigate, if not prevent, the expected conflict.

Athens, meanwhile, was busy in creating a coalition against Philip. Thebes was induced to join her. Corinth, though for many years standing aloof from the hostile broils in which most of the states had been immersed, gave her adherence to the anti-Macedonians and exhibited an unwonted energy of preparation.[1] Philip, though cognizant of this unfriendly business, proceeded in his own way. He convened the Amphictyons at Thermopylæ and laid before them the complaints against the people of Amphissa. In obedience to the order of the council he issued an edict requiring all the states to furnish a contingent of troops for the punishment of the sacrilege of tilling Apollo's ground. The Athenians and their allies were thus thrown into a most unpleasant dilemma. Either they must answer Philip's call and join him in a crusade against the Amphissians, or else they must array themselves by the side of those who had profaned the national religion. They chose the latter course, and actually sent ten thousand mercenaries to the aid of the sacrilegious city! It was done, not that they loved the defilers of Apollo's lands, but dreaded Philip of Macedon.

The alliance, however, was of no great value to the Amphissians. Against them the king at once proceeded and they were soon

[1] A happy incident is related of this movement on the part of the Corinthians. While they were busily engaged in preparing for war, Diogenes, who now resided in Corinth, was seen anxiously and energetically rolling his tub from one place to another. When inquiry was made of him why he did so, he replied that he did not desire to appear singular by being the only man in Corinth who was not absurdly employed!

subdued and punished, but with far less severity than had been visited upon the obstinate Phocians.

As soon as Philip's success had been such as to alarm the assembly at Athens that body dispatched an embassy to the king to complain of his *violation of the treaty!* As a matter of fact, they themselves had violated it from the beginning, and he had observed the terms with scrupulous fidelity. Still he replied to the envoys, and through them to the Athenian people, with such severe courtesy as the circumstances seemed to warrant. His letter was as follows:

"Philip, King of the Macedonians, to the Athenian council and people, greeting. What your disposition towards me has been from the beginning, I am not ignorant, nor with what earnestness you have endeavored to gain the Thessalians, the Thebans, and the rest of the Bœotians to your party. But now you find them too wise to submit their interests to your direction, you change your course and send ministers with a herald to me to admonish me of the treaty, and demand a truce, having in truth been injured by me in nothing. Nevertheless, I have heard your ambassadors, and consent to all your desires; nor shall I take any step against you, if, dismissing those who advise you ill, you consign them to their deserved ignominy. So may you prosper."

The last clause of the king's paper, relating to the dismissal of the democratic leaders, was directed against Demosthenes and his associates. These were themselves now the ruling influence in the assembly, and Philip's address was not therefore likely to be received with favor. The passions of the "sovereign multitude" were swayed by the very powers which were to be renounced and consigned to ignominy.

Meanwhile the Thebans, after much wavering between interest and inclination, decided in favor of an Athenian alliance, and as soon as the league was effected the assembly of Athens dispatched into Bœotia a large force, to occupy the frontier towns which would lie first in the way of a Macedonian invasion. Philip at the head of his forces took possession of the town of Elateia, which commanded the pass of Thermopylæ. While occupying this position he made one further effort to secure a settlement of their difficulties without the shedding of blood; but his overtures were regarded by the allies as so many symptoms of fear. The Macedonian party, on the other hand, urged the king's sincerity, as evidenced in his previous course; and but for the hot appeals which were poured from the popular tribunals peace might still have been preserved. It was, however, in Thebes, rather than in Athens, that symptoms of wavering were most discoverable. Demosthenes accordingly repaired to the former city, and poured out the fiery torrent of his eloquence to persuade those who faltered to stand fast in their resistance to the common foe.[1]

The allied army of mercenaries now thrown into the field consisted of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Bœotian hoplites consisted of fourteen thousand, while the Athenian division comprised nearly twenty thousand men. The army of Philip exceeded thirty thousand, and though inferior in numbers to the combined forces of the allies was greatly superior to them in discipline and organization.

The battle-field on which the destinies of Greece were now to be decided was at CHÆRONEA. Here in the summer of B. C. 338 it was to be determined whether the old organization, involving a multitude of petty and independent states, should be longer maintained, or whether the expanding kingdom of the North should dominate the whole peninsula of Hellas. The issue was really decided by the military genius of Philip, against whom the allied Greeks could bring no commander of equal abilities. The youthful Alexander, too, bore a conspicuous part in the contest. The battle was long and sanguinary. The victory inclined to the Macedonians. The defeat of the allied forces was complete and overwhelming. Philip, with his usual moderation, dismissed the prisoners without punishment. The bodies of the dead were sent to

[1] It was in the course of the oration delivered on this occasion that Demosthenes swore by Pallas Athene that if any one should dare to say that peace ought to be made with Philip he would himself seize him by the hair and drag him to prison.

Athens for burial, and the king sent thither his general Antipater and his son Alexander to treat with the Athenians on the subject of peace. He invited them to renew the compact which had recently existed between Greece and Macedon. A counter embassy was returned to the king, and the Greeks were only too ready to accept the favorable conditions which were offered.

As soon as peace was reëstablished the attention of Philip was directed to the king of Persia. For some time it had been his policy to establish himself at the head of a Hellenic confederacy, and then hurl the united forces of Greece and Macedonia upon the dominions of the Great King, against whom all the people of the West cherished so profound an antipathy. Diodorus, in his account of the course pursued by Philip at this juncture, says: "The king, encouraged by his victory at Chæronea, by which the most renowned states had been checked and confounded, was ambitious of becoming the military commander and head of the Greek nation. He declared, therefore, his intention of carrying war, in the common cause of the Greeks, against the Persians. A disposition to concur in this purpose and to attach themselves to him as their chief pervaded the Grecian people. Communicating then with all, individuals as well as states, in a manner to conciliate favor, he expressed his desire of meeting the nation in congress to concert measures for the great object in view, and such a body was accordingly convened at Corinth. This explanation of his intentions excited great hopes, and so produced the desired concurrence that at length the Greeks elected him generalissimo of their confederate powers. Great preparations for the Persian war were put forward, and the proportion of troops to be furnished by every state was calculated and determined."

The final scene in Philip's eventful and ambitious career was now at hand. The army of more than two hundred thousand men, raised by the allied states to war against the Persians, was destined to be led into Asia by another. After his victory at Chæronea the monarch returned to his capital, and in B. C. 336, occupied a brief interval with the marriage of his daughter to Alexander, king of Epirus. A feast was made in honor of the occasion. When the banquet was at its height and Philip, after the manner of the times, had given himself freely to indulgence, a certain Pausanias, who harbored a grudge against the king on account of a supposed injury, plunged a dagger into his breast and laid him lifeless. The assassin immediately fled, but before he could make his escape through the city gates he was overtaken and instantly cut down.

The causes of this tragic event, beyond the petty resentment which the murderer was known to have felt, have never been determined. The most plausible theory of the assassination is that which attributes it to the revenge of Olympias, who, in the preceding year had been discarded by the king. Philip had chosen in her place a maiden named Cleopatra, daughter of Attalus, one of his generals. It is said that the conduct of Olympias, on hearing of the murder of the king, was such as to warrant the suspicion that she had been privy to his taking off. The sudden destruction of the assassin prevented his divulging his motives, and it is therefore not known whether political influences originating in Greece or Persia had any thing to do with procuring the crime.

Philip of Macedon may be fairly ranked as the greatest ruler of his time. At the beginning of his career he had to battle with limited resources to create and consolidate his kingdom. Such was his success that at the close of his reign—though the end was precipitated by sudden violence—the Macedonian supremacy was established on a basis not to be shaken. Nor was it more by force and military genius than by the possession of great civil abilities that he gained his preëminence. He was a diplomatist, a thinker, a discerner of motives. His disposition was more humane than the age he lived in. His self-possession was remarked by all who came into his presence. His power of conversing and his affable manners made his company to be sought by the learned and polite. The summary given by Diodorus respecting Philip's character may be quoted with approval: "He ex-

teemed mere physical courage and physical strength in the field as among the lowest qualities of a superior officer. He set an almost exclusive value on military science as distinguished from personal prowess, and not less on the talent of conversing, persuading, and conciliating those over whom a general might be appointed to preside. Upon these qualities he founded the only favorable opinion which he entertained of himself; for he was wont to remark that the merit of success in battle he could only share with those under him, whereas the victories he gained by argument, affability and kindness were all his own."

CHAPTER L.—ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

HEN Philip was assassinated the prince ALEXANDER was in his twentieth year. Doubtless the vague suspicion which associated him with his father's murder was groundless and unjust. Even if Olympias was properly charged with complicity in the crime, it is not likely that Alexander, who was almost constantly with his father, and appears to have been greatly attached to him, would connive at his destruction. It is more probable that in so far as the assassination had any political significance, it was based on a scheme to transfer the crown to Amyntas, the son of Antiochus, and was therefore in the highest degree *against* the interest of Alexander. Nor was it in accord with the character of the prince to begin his career with parricide.

In accordance with custom, the new king was conducted to the throne with military pomp. He addressed the Macedonian nobles who were assembled to witness the ceremony in words well calculated to inspire confidence. He declared his purpose to rule in accordance with the policy adopted by his father, and added with great gravity: "The king's name is changed, but the king you shall find remains the same." As an earnest of his purpose, he retained his father's officers, both in the government and in the army; nor might any one find cause to complain on account of his own disparagement in the esteem and honor of the court.

It was not to be apprehended, however, that a prince of twenty could succeed such a ruler as Philip, whose powerful arm had made his name a terror to conspirators, without many and serious trials. It was to be expected that not a few of the turbulent peoples over whom the father had held sway would try the courage and tempt the patience of the son. At this time, moreover, the influence of Persia was constantly felt in the West, particularly in the states of Greece. The agents of Darius went everywhere to promote the interests of their master by creating confusion in the counsels of his enemies. The purpose of Philip to invade Asia was well known at the court of Susa, and the news of that monarch's death was received with delight by the Persian king, who fondly imagined that the youthful successor of the great Macedonian would be unable to prosecute his father's ambitious plans. The emissaries of Darius understood thoroughly the factious and turbulent spirit of the Greeks, and the policy pursued was that of fanning the slumbering jealousy of the states until it should burst into a flame of insurrection.

The first attention of the new king was directed to Thessaly. Of those states included within the limits of Northern Greece, this was the most powerful ally of the Macedonians. The agents sent out by Alexander found the Thessalians in a loyal disposition, and the friendly relations existing between them and Philip were easily confirmed. The civil and military authority of the state remained in the same hands as before. The influence of Thessaly thus became of great importance to Alexander, who was able to use his ally to good advantage in securing the allegiance of the other states.

The next important matter occupying the attention of the young king was the meeting of the Amphictyonic council at Thermopylæ. It was necessary for Alexander to have conferred on him his father's seat as president of that venerable body. This dignity, however, was easily attained at the hands of the Amphictyons, and Alexander immediately sought the still higher honor of being elected generalissimo of all the Greeks. For this purpose a

congress of the states was called to meet at Corinth. When the body was assembled, the king proposed to the delegates that the great expedition against Persia, which had been cut short by the death of his father, should now be resumed, and that himself should be elected to command the combined forces of the West. The proposition was readily assented to by a majority of the delegates, though not without the opposition of the Lacedæmonians, who held that they were restrained by an ancient custom from committing the command of their armies to another.

It appears, withal, from this circumstance, that the deliberations of the congress were untrammeled by any fear of the king, each state being allowed to exercise the suffrage in its own way. Thus was brought to a successful conclusion the preliminary arrangements by which the largest and most important expedition ever undertaken in Greece was intrusted to a youth of twenty years.

Now it was that the ambitions of Alexander found free scope for exercise. Preparations were immediately resumed for the equipment of the army for the grand campaign into Asia. It was perhaps fortunate for Alexander that at this juncture difficulties arose which furnished an opportunity to test his capacities and try the mettle of his soldiery in a field near home. Before the expedition could set out for Asia Minor, ominous clouds gathered around his kingdom, and threatening invasions gathered on three sides of the realm. On the west the Illyrians revolted and resumed their independence. On the north the Thracians, headed by the warlike tribe of Triballi, rose in arms; and on the east the miscellaneous nationalities inhabiting the coasts and islands of the Ægean threw off the restraints of authority and again betook themselves to marauding and piracy.

It was this alarming condition of affairs which first struck fire from the daring spirit and military genius of the young king. Hastily dividing his forces he despatched PARMENIO with one division against the Illyrians, while

he himself at the head of the other proceeded against the freebooters of the coast. With extraordinary rapidity he fell upon those who had defied his authority and scattered them in terror before him. He pursued the fugitives into the mountains of Hæmus, and gave them no rest even in the rocky defiles where they had sought refuge. No campaign conducted by Philip had exhibited such audacity or been crowned with such speedy success.

Turning from his expedition to the coast, Alexander next made his way into Thrace. Here the enemy had seized the tops of the mountains, and having fixed their war-chariots in front of their lines so as to form a rampart against the phalanx, they regarded their position as impregnable. It was proposed, moreover, should the Macedonians attempt to scale the heights, to hurl down the chariots in their faces. But Alexander, nothing daunted, ordered his men to ascend the acclivity, and to open their ranks for the passage of any engines that might be sent down against them. It is said by Arrian that not a single Macedonian was killed in the charge. The heights were carried and the barbarians scattered to the winds. Fifteen hundred of their dead, together with all the women and spoils of the battle, were left on the field.

The king next turned his attention to the Triballi whom he followed northward of Hæmus into the great forests which stretch out on the right bank of the Danube. After hunting the barbarians out of the woods, he assaulted them and their king, Syrmus, on the island of Pence, in the river Ister; but for once his audacity was overdone. The place proved impregnable, and he was obliged to desist from the attack. The Triballi, however, were glad to escape with their lives, and made no further attempt to disturb the peace of the kingdom.

Alexander next crossed the Danube, and made a successful campaign against the Getæ. These people were less warlike than the Triballi, and could offer no successful resistance to the progress of the Macedonians. The whole country was speedily overrun; the capital was destroyed and the tribes subdued. Returning to the south bank of the river, the king was met by a humble embassy from Syrmus, who begged that he and his people might have peace. Likewise came envoys from the Celts dwelling on the Ionian bay. They too, though representing a haughty and warlike race, sought the favor of Alexander, and were received as friends and allies.[1]

Alexander next directed his course against the revolted Illyrians. Marching with great rapidity into their country, he penetrated to the capital, Pellion, which he seized before the insurgents were well aroused to a sense of their danger. The Illyrians, however, and the Taulantians, who had joined them, trusted rather to the defensible position which they had chosen among the hills than to the risks of a battle. They therefore waited to be attacked, and it was some time before Alexander could bring them to an engagement. At last, however, he assaulted them in their position, and they were quickly dispersed. The leaders of the revolt thereupon made overtures for peace, which were readily accepted by the king. News had already been carried to him of a troublous state of affairs in Greece, whereat Alexander was so greatly disturbed that he speedily withdrew from Illyria and returned to Macedon.

After the death of Philip, the anti-Macedonian party in the Greek states became more active than ever. Especially were the radical energies of Demosthenes vehemently directed against the young king of the North. Every motive which envy and revenge could suggest was busily and persistently paraded to incite insurrection among the southern dependencies of Macedonia. Thebes took fire. This state, after the battle of Chæronea, had been reduced to a condition of vassalage. The people, naturally proud and headstrong, chafed under the domination of Macedonia, and, Greek-like, were ready at the first opportunity to break into revolt. It was in anticipation of such an emergency that in the very year of

[1] It is related that, in the interview of Alexander with the Celtic ambassadors, he inquired what might be the cause of their alarm, expecting the flattering answer that they dreaded his name. What, therefore, was his chagrin on being told that the thing which the Celts most feared was that *the sky might fall on their heads and bury them!*

DEFEAT OF THE THRACIANS BY THE MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

Alexander's accession a garrison had been, by the order of the Amphictyons, established in the Theban citadel. The two commanders of this body of guards were Amyntas and Timolaüs. The first was a Theban and the second a Macedonian. Both, believing in the peaceable disposition of the citizens, took up their quarters in the town instead of the citadel. Meanwhile a sedition was fomented in Athens, and certain Theban exiles residing there were instigated to return to their own city and head an insurrection. Accordingly, in the dead of night, Amyntas and Timolaüs were beset in their quarters and killed. Heralds then ran through the town, proclaiming that Alexander was dead, and urging the citizens to attack and destroy the Macedonian garrison.

Hearing of this condition of affairs, Alexander came down with all haste from the North, and marched into Bœotia. Before the Thebans could prepare resistance, the king was upon them. They were incredulous, and refused to believe that he who but a few days before had been proclaimed dead in the mountains of Illyria was actually at their doors with a Macedonian phalanx. Thinking that the advance was some company of marauders, they sent out a body of cavalry and peltasts to confront them. Alexander, acting with great moderation, made proclamation that the infatuated multitude should cease from their rash hostility and return to their allegiance. When the demagogues who had control of the city would not hear to the proposed settlement, the king advanced his army to the city gates, and stood ready for action. For it was believed that the Macedonian party in Thebes would presently assert itself, and that the storming of the town would thus be avoided.

But while matters stood in this attitude a party of the besiegers, under command of Perdiccas, being close to the city wall, discovered the means of scaling the rampart, and, without waiting for orders, began an assault. They fought their way into the heart of the city, but the Thebans rallied in great numbers and the assailants were driven back. Retreating through the gates, the Macedonians were pursued by the rash throng of citizen soldiers, who recklessly pressed on until they struck the phalanx, which Alexander had drawn up to resist them. Against this immovable wall the Thebans dashed themselves, and were hurled back in confusion. A battle was now fairly on. The Macedonians followed the insurgents into the city.

The besieged garrison now poured out of the citadel, and the discomfiture of the Thebans was soon complete. Great numbers were slaughtered in the streets. The auxiliaries in Alexander's army, burning with the recollection of wrongs which they had suffered at the hands of the Thebans in the times of Pelopidas, gave free rein to their passions, and made an indiscriminate butchery of the inhabitants. Nor did the violence of the victors cease with the bloody tragedy by which the town was taken. A congress of the confederate states was presently convened, and decrees of relentless barbarity were passed against Thebes and her people. It was solemnly resolved that the Theban name should be blotted out; that the city should be destroyed; that the women and children should be sold into slavery; that the territory should be parceled out to the allies and to those of the natives who had maintained their allegiance to Macedonia; and that the citadel should be held by a garrison in the Macedonian interest.

The character of Alexander was illustrated in the enforcement of the act of the congress. Much of the severity of the edict was abated. Especially where the interests of literature and art were concerned did the king act the magnanimous part. The house of the poet Pindar was not demolished, and even his relatives were spared from persecution. In other respects the decree was enforced, and Thebes was extinguished. Six thousand of her people had perished in battle, and thirty thousand were sold into slavery. It is said that the mind of Alexander was haunted not a little with the recollection of these atrocities perpetrated against the Thebans, and that he attempted, as far as lay in his power, to make amends by the bestowal of favors upon those who survived the destruction of the state.

Great was the alarm at Athens when it was known that Thebes had been taken and destroyed. It was confidently expected that

Alexander, well knowing that the Theban revolt had been instigated by the Athenians, would at once proceed to inflict on them the punishment which they had provoked. An assembly was immediately called in the terrified city, and an embassy was dispatched to the king congratulating him *on his safe return from Illyria and his success in exterminating the Thebans!* So great was the difference in their feelings towards Alexander dead and Alexander living! The king made answer to the embassy, accepting their compliment; but at the same time he sent a letter to the Athenians telling them that their friendly feelings would be reciprocated on condition of the surrender by them to him of ten of their leaders, whom he named. The list included Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Polyeuctus, Charites, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotemus, and Merocles. The city was thrown into great confusion by the demand. It is said that Demosthenes, being in terror, gave Demades five talents to intercede for him with Alexander.

The Athenians sent back another embassy, begging the king's indulgence for their orators, and promising themselves to try and punish their leaders for the seditious counsel which they had been in the habit of giving. To this Alexander acceded, but made it a condition that Charidemus, who had acted as a Greek spy at the court of Philip, should be banished from the country. The king indeed was anxious at as early a date as possible to bring all Greece to a state of quiet to the end that he might enter upon the prosecution of those larger plans which he had inherited from his father.

THEBANS AND MACEDONIANS IN BATTLE.

Returning to his own capital Alexander diligently renewed his preparations for the invasion of Asia. In this work he spent the winter of B. C. 335–334, and with the opening of spring found himself in readiness to proceed with his campaign. His army consisted of but thirty-five thousand men, but these were thoroughly drilled and hardened by the severe discipline of exposure and war. They were mostly veterans who, under Philip, had learned to overcome all obstacles, and who now, under Philip's son, had come to share his courage and ambitions.

The Macedonian advance began from Pella to Sestos on the Hellespont. Here, at the tomb of Protesilaüs Alexander offered sacrifices. Then flinging himself into a galley he bade adieu to the shores of Europe, and was rowed to the opposite coast. Arriving in Asia, he first visited the site of ancient Troy. Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Iliad, he paused to make offerings in the temple of Minerva, and from this shrine he obtained a suit of armor which tradition said had been preserved from the time of the Trojan war. In the place of this he dedicated to the goddess one of his own coats-of-mail, which was hung up in the temple.

Meanwhile, the Persian king appeared to take no alarm on account of the Macedonian lion who had entered his dominions at a bound. The crossing of the Hellespont had been made without opposition, though the Persian fleet far outnumbered any armament that Alexander could have brought against it. No general preparations had been made by the court of Susa to resist the impending invasion. The defense of the western provinces had been left to their respective satraps, while the Greek cities on the coast had been intrusted to the guardianship of the Rhodian general, Memnon. The carelessness of Darius and his officers in permitting the actual invasion to begin without taking measures necessary to repel it was little less than a blind infatuation of security for which the Persian Empire was presently to pay a ruinous price.

Alexander greatly desired to try the mettle of the Persians, rather than of the Greeks inhabiting the Ionian cities. He also had a respect for the military abilities of Memnon, but none at all for the prowess of the average satrap. He, therefore, made his way first along the shores of the Propontis in a northeasterly direction, and thus came into the province of Lower Phrygia, of which Arsites was the governor. To him Memnon sent a most excellent piece of advice to the effect that the satrap should lay waste the country in advance of Alexander, and avoid a battle. But Arsites had an army of more than forty thousand men, and was himself not devoid of courage. He therefore answered that not a house should be burned, nor an article of property be destroyed within the limits of his satrapy. This, of course, meant battle, and the day was at hand.

For delay was not in Alexander's nature. He pressed forward rapidly to the river GRANICUS, and came upon the stream near the town of Zelia. On the opposite bank the Persian army was already encamped; for Arsites, knowing the route of Alexander, had taken advantage of the stream to oppose his passage. When Alexander reached the bank he was for giving immediate battle; but at this juncture the veteran Parmenio, who knew better than the impetuous young king the hazards of war, advised his master not to attempt the crossing of the stream in the face of such an enemy. But the king was not to be foiled in his purpose. With a vision more far-reaching than that of Parmenio, he saw that immediate and victorious battle was the thing now needed to fire the spirits of the Macedonians and to strike terror into the foe. To his veteran general's admonition he therefore replied: "Your reflections are just and forcible; but would it not be a mighty disgrace to us, who so easily passed the Hellespont, to be stopped here by a contemptible brook? It would, indeed, be a lasting reflection on the glory of the Macedonians as well as on the personal bravery of their commander; and besides, the Persians would forthwith consider themselves our equals in war, did we not in this first contest with them achieve something to justify the terror which attaches to our name."

So it was determined to give battle without delay. Parmenio was appointed to the left wing; Philotas, to the right. Here also Alexander himself took his station. The preparations made by the Macedonians were all in plain view of the Persians on the opposite bank. Discovering, from the armor and decorations of Alexander's principal officers, in what part of the lines the king was to command, the Persians drew up their best cohorts opposite where the great Macedonian must cross the river. This movement on the part of the enemy was altogether agreeable to

Alexander, who was complimented by this disposition of the Persian forces. He saw moreover that if he should be able to break that part of the enemy's line which had been strengthened to resist him personally, the rest would, in all probability, after the manner of Asiatics, fall into confusion and fly from the field. He accordingly determined to charge through the river and into the face of the foe. The first body consisting of the peltasts and cavalry rushed through the stream and up the opposite banks. Here they were met by the Persians in superior numbers and after a brief struggle were driven back. The time thus gained, however, enabled Alexander to cross with the main division of heavy-armed soldiers.

The fight now began in earnest. For some time it seemed doubtful whether the Macedonians could force the enemy from their position. Alexander exhibited the greatest personal bravery. He was in the thickest of the fight and when his lance was broken quickly supplied its place with another. He charged with the greatest impetuosity and with his own hand killed the commander of the Persian cavalry. At one time he was surrounded by the enemy and beaten down, and was barely rescued by some courageous friends. At length the Persian cavalry broke and fled ignominiously.

In the mean time Parmenio crossed with the left wing, and had with greater ease gained a footing on the opposite bank. The opposing Persian lines had here been weakened to strengthen their left, opposed to Alexander. It thus happened that Parmenio had a less desperate struggle for victory than did Alexander. The Persians were scattered from all parts of the field, and the Greek mercenaries under Omares were soon borne down by the phalanx, and either killed or captured. Of the Persians fully ten thousand were slain in battle. Spithridates and Mithrobazanes, governors of Lydia and Cappadocia, Mithrides, a son-in-law of Darius, Pharnaces, the queen's brother, Omares, general of the mercenary Greeks, and many other nobles and distinguished men, were among the slain. It is stated the loss on the side of the Macedonians amounted to no more than one hundred and twenty.[1]

Alexander at once gathered the spoils of the battle-field and sent a portion to each of the states represented in the expedition. The present in each case was sent with the request that the spoils should be devoted as a memorial of the joint success of the Macedonians and Greeks against the enemy of both. The factious Athenians, who had as a matter of fact so many times broken faith both with the king and his father, were specially remembered in the distribution of trophies. Three hundred suits of complete armor, stripped from the bodies of the Persian dead, were sent to Athens to be hung up in the temple of Pallas Athene; and to accompany this gift the avenger of Europe on Asia dictated the following inscription: "ALEXANDER, SON OF PHILIP, AND THE GREEKS, EXCEPTING THE LACEDÆMONIANS, OFFER THESE, TAKEN FROM THE BARBARIANS OF ASIA."

The battle of the Granicus made more easy the future progress of the conqueror. The terror of his name preceded him, and town after town fell into his power. Resistance almost ceased, insomuch that where the king had expected hard conflicts he met no opposition. Dascylium, the Bithynian capital, threw open her gates to Parmenio. Sardis, the rich metropolis of Lydia, strong both by nature and military preparation, was surrendered with obsequious readiness. The satrap, Mithranes, accompanied by the dignitaries of the city, went out and met Alexander seven miles beyond the gates, and humbly implored his considerate mercy for themselves and their subjects.

From Sardis Alexander moved forward to Ephesus and Miletus. In both of these cities the strife of the Persian and Macedo-

[1] It is said that Alexander was deeply affected by the loss of those slain in his first battle. Twenty-five of the royal guards, mostly young men of fiery spirit like himself, fell in the conflict near the person of their king. He ordered statues of the valiant soldiers to be cast by Lycippus and placed in the city of Dium, Macedonia. He also gave to the parents and other relatives of those who fell at the Granicus the freedom of their respective cities; and the children of his dead soldiers were forever exempted from taxation.

nian factions had risen to such a height as to portend massacre and destruction. Never was the prudence of Alexander displayed to a better advantage than in the settlement of these internal broils. Assuming the office of mediator, he behaved with such moderation and liberality as to secure the confidence even of the democracy. He established and confirmed the government of the cities in a manner so little selfish as to substitute good order for anarchy and prosperity for destructive turmoil. At Ephesus he greatly heightened his popularity by a politic measure respecting the tribute. Hitherto the city had been burdened with a heavy annual tax, which went to the satrap of the province. At the times when Ephesus was subject to Athens and Sparta, the tribute had been paid to them. So that to the Ephesians the temporary liberty which they gained by the Ionian revolt amounted merely to a change of masters. Alexander, however, instead of exacting the tribute for his own—which would have been selfish—or remitting the tax altogether—which would have been unwise—required a continuation of payment, and directed that the whole revenue should be used in restoring the temple of Diana—a measure well calculated to stimulate the patriotism and flatter the pride of the Ephesians.

Of still greater importance, alike to Alexander and the Persian king, was the city of Miletus. Of all the seaports belonging to Persia on the Ægean, this was the most valuable and necessary. For Darius already had a large armament in the western seas, and the free communication of the conqueror with his own country was thus endangered. To gain possession of Miletus was, therefore, a matter of prime importance to Alexander, and to lose it a serious disaster to the king of Persia. As soon as the Macedonian could settle affairs in Ephesus, he accordingly set out for Miletus. On his arrival he at once began a siege; for the Milesians were not so ready to surrender their city as had been the citizens of Sardis.

ALEXANDER IN PERIL OF HIS LIFE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

It required, however, but a short time for the walls to be knocked down by the battering-rams and the garrison dispersed. Such was the fame of invincibility which already attached to the name of Alexander that the Persian fleet, lying in the harbor of Miletus, made no effort to save the city from falling. Thus was Miletus added to the trophies of Macedonia.

In the mean time, Memnon had given special attention to the defenses of Halicarnassus, and the garrison was thoroughly drilled in anticipation of an attack. On arriving before the city, Alexander found that the walls were surrounded with a ditch thirty cubits in width and fifteen cubits deep. It was necessary that this should be filled up before the rams could be brought to bear on the ramparts. The garrison was vigilant, and from the walls discharged every species of missile upon the assailants. But the siege was pressed with vigor, and Memnon was soon brought to such straits that he found it necessary to withdraw by night. In doing so he set fire to his enginery to prevent it from falling into the hands of Alexander. By this means a portion of the city was burned. The king took possession without further resistance, and with his usual moderation quieted the alarm of the people. The citadel was still held by a portion of the forces of Memnon. but Alexander, not deeming it prudent to consume time in the reduction of the place, left Ptolemy with a body of three thousand men to keep the province in subjection, and appointed the princess Ada, who had put herself under his protection, to be regent of Caria while he should prosecute his campaign.

The next point to which the conqueror directed his march was the city of Tralles. This place was speedily reduced, and the expedition was then directed into Phrygia. The winter was now at hand, and according to all precedent military operations must cease. Not so, however, with Alexander, who informed his army of his intention to continue the campaign eastward, so that if Darius should accept the challenge he might meet him in the following spring on the confines of Syria. To quiet all discontent, however, he gave free permission to all who had been recently married to return to their wives and spend the winter months in Macedonia. Three of his generals—Ptolemy, Cœnus, and Meleager—were of this number, and to them he gave the command of the division which was to return home. He then ordered Parmenio to take his station at Sardis, so as to preserve an uninterrupted line of communication between Macedonia and the army.

With the remainder of his forces Alexander now set out through Lycia and Pamphylia. His object was by the reduction of all the seaport towns to make the Persian fleet useless; for without friendly harbors a squadron in these waters could do no harm. In his progress through the coast provinces the four principal cities—Telmissus, Pinara, Xanthus, and Patara—made voluntary submission, and more than thirty of the smaller towns sent embassies and made their peace with the conqueror. Phaselis, the capital of Lower Lycia, tendered him by the hands of her ambassadors a golden crown, and solicited his friendship and protection. All the province was brought into submission, and particularly was a certain fortress, held by the barbarous Pisidians, reduced by assault and the garrison expelled from the country.

Meanwhile the enemies of the king, unable to oppose him in the field, undertook to secure his destruction by treachery. The scheme was worthy of its authors. A certain son of the Macedonian prince, Aeropus, also named Alexander, whom the great Alexander on his accession to the throne had admitted to his friendship, was now made the tool of a conspiracy by which the king was to be put out of the way. It will be remembered that Amyntas, who was himself a claimant to the throne, had fled to the Persian court, from which great hot-bed of treachery he became an active member of the plot. He sent a certain Asisines into Phrygia as a pretended messenger to the satrap of that province, but really as a bearer of dispatches to the spurious Alexander. The latter was advised that if he would procure the murder of the king he should himself have the throne of Macedonia under the protection and favor of Persia.

But the vigilant Parmenio caught the messenger and sent him to Alexander, to whom he confessed the whole treasonable business. The other Alexander was at that time serving as an officer in Parmenio's army. He was at once seized and imprisoned, and the whole scheme ended in a miserable abortion.

Alexander then resumed his march eastward along the sea-coast. It was in this part of his course that the first of many omens was noticed by the army, and ascribed to the will and favor of the gods. At a certain part of the Pamphylian coast one of the spurs of the Taurus juts into the sea so as to prevent a passage along the beach. The king's progress was thus suddenly hindered; but as he approached the obstacle the wind, which had for many days blown from the south and driven the surf high against the rocks, turned about as if by magic, and, blowing from the north, carried the tide far down the beach, leaving a broad space of sand exposed, over which the army passed in safety. Thus for the son of Philip was established the precedent of the favor of the ruling deities—a circumstance of which the king was by no means too modest to avail himself. It became a part of his policy to encourage the belief that he was under the guidance and protection of heaven.

In the hilly country, on the eastern confines of Lycia, dwelt the barbarous tribe of Marmarians. They were a race of robbers. Not daring to oppose the progress of the Macedonians, they waited until the army had passed by, and then falling upon the baggage and cattle-train, succeeded in securing a large amount of booty. With this they fled to Marmara, their principal town, a place almost impregnable from the nature of the surroundings. But Alexander quickly turned about, pursued the robbers to their den, brought up his engines, and began to batter the walls. The barbarians, seeing that they were ginned in their own trap, held a council, and adopted the horrible expedient of murdering their women and children, burning the town, and escaping who could through the Macedonian lines. A great feast was accordingly made, and after all had well eaten the work of destruction began. Human nature revolted, however, in the midst of the massacre, and six hundred of the young men of the tribe refused to be the butchers of their mothers and sisters. But the town was fired, and the rest of the program was carried out to the extent that most of the robbers broke through and escaped to the hills. Their experience had been sufficient to take away all desire of further depredations.

The next point toward which the expedition was directed was the town of Perga, in Pamphylia. Here there was no disposition on the part of the authorities to resist or even resent the coming of Alexander. While marching thither the king was met by ambassadors from the city of Aspendus, who came to tender their submission and to obtain favorable terms of peace. The Macedonian met them in his usual temper of moderation. He conceded to them the conduct of their own affairs. No garrison should be established in their city. The annual tribute—payable in horses—hitherto assessed by the king of Persia, should now be sent to Alexander. In addition to this, a contribution of fifty talents should be made by the city. On these conditions the people of Aspendus should in no wise be disturbed. The terms were readily agreed to by the commissioners; but on their return home there had been a revulsion among the citizens, and the whole settlement was rejected. The king was thus obliged, as soon as Perga and Sida had made their submission, to set out against Aspendus. The city was at once invested, and the inhabitants soon came to their senses. They now desired to capitulate on the conditions previously offered, but the Macedonian was not so easy a master. He exacted double the amount of the contribution which he had first named, assessed a yearly tribute, and compelled the Aspendians to accept a governor to be named by himself.

No people of the West received the news of Alexander's successes with so much displeasure as did the Lacedæmonians. They alone had stood aloof from the confederacy of which Alexander was generalissimo. They alone had not been remembered, or remem-

bered in a disparaging way, in the sending home by the conqueror of trophies from his battles. In his presents and messages to the Greeks it was his habit to add the clause, "*excepting the Lacedæmonians.*" Agis, the Spartan king, now sought to neutralize these indignities by fomenting discord among the Grecian states to the end that Alexander might be obliged to abandon his far-reaching plans for the settlement of petty rebellions at home. In this work Memnon, the Rhodian, was an able coadjutor, while in the distance stood the Persian monarch ready and eager always to furnish both the means and the motives of distraction to the fearless prince who had invaded his dominions.

In furtherance of his plans the Lacedæmonian king canvassed the republican states of Peloponnesus, and induced several of them to join him in inviting Darius to send a portion of his army to occupy Southern Greece. At the same time Memnon, who now had command of the Persian fleet, was urged to assume the aggressive in the Ægean. Thus was it planned to compel the withdrawal of Alexander from the East. The king of Persia, however, not fully confident that the Macedonian could be frightened from his purpose by a noise behind him, began to gather armies and prepare all needed means of defense.

The approach of spring, B. C. 333, found Alexander in Pamphylia. Gathering information of the measures adopted by his enemies to compass his destruction, he determined to retire to Gordium, the capital of Lower Phrygia, and make that place a rendezvous for the various divisions of his army. The time had come for the return of those who, under Ptolemy and Meleager, had spent the winter in Macedonia. With them large reënforcements were expected to arrive. After the consolidation of his forces the king would determine the plan of the year's campaign.

In his way from the Lycian coasts to Phrygia, Alexander had to cross the ridges of Taurus. In doing so he encountered several warlike tribes, who attacked him with fury, only to be dispersed. The proper pursuit and punishment of these half-savage bands was, however, quite impossible in such a region; for the mountain fastnesses gave them immunity. The city of Celænæ, the metropolis of Phrygia, opened her gates to receive the new master instead of the old. What was it to the inhabitants of these towns of Asia Minor whether they should pay tribute to Darius or to the son of Philip? Only this—that the son of Philip was the more generous ruler. All Phrygia, after the surrender of the city, submitted to the conqueror, and readily accepted the provisions which he made for the future management of the province.

Before reaching Gordium, the king received intelligence of the successes of Memnon in the Ægean. The island of Chios had been taken by the Persian fleet. All of Lesbos except Mitylene had been reduced, and that city was closely invested. It was the purpose of Memnon, as soon as the siege could be brought to a successful conclusion, to make his way to the Hellespont, fall upon the coast of Macedonia, and compel the return of Alexander for the defense of his own dominions. Nor was it likely that Antipater, who had been left by the king at Pella to serve as regent during his absence, could be able to raise a sufficient armament to beat back the invaders from his coasts. The situation was not without its dangers; but before the crisis could be reached in which Alexander would be obliged to decide between abandoning his own territories to invasion or giving up his cherished and inherited ambition of conquering Persia, he was relieved of all anxiety by the death of Memnon. The loss of that able commander was a severe blow to Persian hopes in the West. The fleet could make no further progress, and was presently disbanded. The Ægean was relieved of Persian domination, and the schemes of the anti-Macedonian party in Southern Greece were brought to naught. A reäction set in in Alexander's favor, and from nearly all the states of continental Greece reënforcements went forward to join him in Asia. It was seen, moreover, that contingents of troops began to move from the Perso-Grecian towns in Ionia and elsewhere to swell the forces of Darius in the East; from which it was dis-

cerned that the Great King had abandoned the idea of distracting Alexander from his purpose, and had resolved to meet him in battle. Than this nothing could have been more grateful to the feelings of the conqueror.

So, after a brief stay at Celænæ, the king continued his course to Gordium. Here occurred that famous incident to omit which were a grave crime against the cherished traditions of the human race. It is the story of the undoing of the Gordian Knot. One of the legendary kings of Phrygia was Gordius, who, when as a peasant plowing in the field, was favored with the descent of the bird of Jove, alighting on the yoke of his oxen. There the eagle sat until the eventide. Clearly this presaged his own and the greatness of his house. The soothsayers of Telmessus interpreted the omen, and a prophetess became his wife. Of this union was born the child Midas, who, when grown to manhood and the state was greatly disturbed with civil commotions, rode with his father and mother in a car into the city.

Meanwhile an oracle had said that the king whom the people sought should be brought to them in a car. Accordingly Midas was hailed as king by the shouting populace. He thereupon took off the yoke of his oxen, and dedicating it and his chariot to Zeus, fastened them with cords made of the cornel tree to the shrine in the acropolis of Gordium. The cord was twisted and fastened in so artful a way that the ends were undiscoverable; and the oracle declared that the fates had decreed the empire of the world to him who should untie the knot. Albeit, here was an opportunity which Alexander must not let pass unimproved. On arriving at the city he was shown into the temple, and there beheld the fateful relics, secured, as of old, by their fastenings. As to how he succeeded in loosing the knot, there are two traditions—the one reciting that he drew out the pin which fastened the yoke to the beam and thus detached the yoke itself, while the other says that he severed the knot with his sword.

A matter of much more historical importance was the arrival at Gordium of an Athenian embassy. The commissioners came to request that Alexander would liberate those citizens of Athens whom he had taken as prisoners on the banks of the Granicus, fighting for the Persian king. These, with two thousand others, were still detained in Macedonia, and their countrymen had undertaken to procure their release. The king listened attentively to what the envoys had to say, but declined to grant their request. He told the embassy, however, to inform their countrymen of his kindly feelings towards the Athenians, and of his purpose, so soon as the Persian war could be brought to a successful issue, to set their fellow-citizens at liberty.

In the mean time, Darius had completed the organization of his army, and was already on his march to the West. His intention was to cross the Great Desert and attack Alexander before the latter could pass the confines of Asia Minor. It was equally important for the Macedonian to complete the conquest of the lesser Asia, and to secure the mountain-passes on its eastern borders before the coming of the Persian avalanche. At this time there remained three satrapies unconquered: Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and Cilicia. It was of the utmost importance to Alexander to expedite the conquest of these provinces. He accordingly hurried in the direction of Paphlagonia, but before entering the satrapy he had the good fortune to receive therefrom a friendly embassy, proffering the submission of that important country.

Thus relieved from the necessity of a conquest, he hastened into Cappadocia, and there too was received without resistance. Having appointed Macedonian governors over these two leading provinces, and taken their pledge of allegiance to himself as generalissimo of the Greeks, he turned into Cilicia. But in attempting to make his way thither through a mountain-pass called the Gate of Taurus, he was suddenly confronted by the Persians, who had preöccupied the defiles to prevent his passage. Such, however, was the terror of the conqueror's name that the enemy did not, even in their advantageous position, dare to give him battle. On the contrary, they abandoned the pass and fled. Alexander then pressed on to Tarsus, the

Cilician capital. Arsanes, the governor, hastily decamped with the garrison, and fled to Darius. The city authorities thereupon opened the gates, and Alexander was admitted without opposition. It was the last act in the conquest of Asia Minor. In all the rich and beautiful regions of the western division of the Persian Empire, not a foot of territory remained to Darius.

The exertions and anxieties of the ambitious young king now began to tell upon his constitution. In the long marches from Cappadocia into Cilicia, he had suffered the extremes of fatigue. It is likely, moreover, that some of the districts through which he passed were miasmatic, and that some of the towns were infected with contagion. Soon after his capture of Tarsus, Alexander was attacked with a fever which came near ending his life. The severity of his illness was heightened by his own indiscretion. Just before he was prostrated, oppressed with fatigue and the summer heat, he plunged into the river Cydnus, noted for the icy coldness of its waters, and amused himself as a swimmer. On coming forth he was presently prostrated, and rapidly brought so low that his life was despaired of by all except Philip, the Acarnanian, his favorite physician. The latter continued to attend and encourage his master. While Philip was engaged in preparing a draught for his royal patient, the king received a secret dispatch from his old general, Parmenio, informing him that Philip was a traitor and had been bribed by Darius to poison his king. While the letter was yet in Alexander's hands, the cup containing the draught was handed him by Philip. The king received the potion, and at the same time handed the dispatch to the physician. Observing no change in Philip's countenance as he read, Alexander without a word drank the potion, and the loyal attendant was soon gratified with a favorable change in his patient. For once the faithful Parmenio had been misled by false information, which had well-nigh proved fatal both to the king and his physician.

As soon as Alexander had sufficiently recovered from his illness to resume the direction of affairs, he sent forward Parmenio to occupy the pass which led into Syria. This order was issued with the double view of preventing a like action on the part of Darius and of securing to himself an easy route into the Greater Asia. He himself made a brief campaign into the mountainous district of Cilicia. On his march thither he was surprised on coming to the city of Anchialus to observe the extent and magnificence of its fortifications and public buildings. It was here that the statue of Sardanapalus, the reputed founder of the city, was found, still bearing that famous old Assyrian inscription, which the Greek scholars accompanying Alexander interpreted as follows: "SARDANAPALUS, THE SON OF ANACYNDARAXES, IN ONE DAY FOUNDED ANCHIALUS AND TARSUS. EAT, DRINK, PLAY; ALL OTHER HUMAN JOYS ARE NOT WORTH A FILLIP."

Leaving this place the conqueror proceeded to Sali, upon which he imposed a tribute of forty thousand pounds. Thence he made his way to Megarsus and Mallus. At the former place he made sacrifices in honor of Pallas Athene; and at the latter he won the people over to his cause by freeing them from the Persian tribute. Nor were the inhabitants less ready to join his standard on account of their nationality, Mallus having been originally founded by a colony of Argive Greeks.

While Alexander tarried at Mallus intelligence arrived of the movements of Darius. The Great King had already crossed the Syrian plain, and was but two days' march from that mountain pass which the Macedonians had already seized. The soldiers of the conqueror were eager to meet the enemy, and he quickly moved forward to the gateway leading from Cilicia into Syria. It is related that at this juncture Darius was perplexed with contradictory counsels. The Greek officers in his army advised him to tarry in the plain near where he was, and there receive the Macedonian onset, but the Persian generals urged the king to press forward to the foothills and drive his enemy back through the passes. The monarch followed the advice of neither implicitly, and of both in part. Instead of going forward to the Syrian Gate,

now held by Alexander, he made a side movement to the right, and occupied another pass, known as the Amanic Gate. Having gained this entrance into Asia Minor, he passed through with his army and advanced as far as Issus, thus putting himself between Alexander and those countries which he had recently subdued.

The Macedonians were agitated not a little on learning that the Great King was on the line of their communications. It is reported that Alexander was considerably exercised to prevent the spread of alarm among his generals and soldiers; but he confidently asserted that of all courses which Darius could have taken the one chosen was to himself the most pleasing. He called the attention of his officers to the fact that in the rougher country—rougher as compared with the Syrian plain—which the Persian had selected it would be impossible to display his vast army in full force or to use it efficiently. Here, said the conqueror, the cavalry of the enemy would be of no avail, and his light-armed troops, with their showers of missiles, could not be employed to advantage. As for himself, he knew that the immortal gods, ever favorable to the cause of the allied Greeks, must have inspired the Persian king to put himself in a position where he must be destroyed. Having thus reassured his soldiers, he began a retrograde movement through the Syrian Gate.

The position now occupied by Darius was eminently favorable. A short distance from the western terminus of the pass out of which the Macedonians must come, flows the river Pinarus which, gathering its waters from the highlands, descends to the west and then turns southward in its course to the sea. The stream thus describes an arc the convexity of which was towards the west. On this side of the river the Persians were drawn up for battle, while the Macedonians, making their exit from the gate, must come up in the inner curve of the Pinarus and cross the stream in the face of the enemy. The one advantage of Alexander was that his army occupied the chord of an arc while the enemy was disposed on the rim of the circle.

In arranging for battle the command of the Macedonian left, lying next to the sea, was given to Parmenio. Opposed to him was the Persian cavalry. To face the Greeks in the army of Darius the phalanx was set in the center of the Macedonian line. The command of the right Alexander reserved for himself. Opposite were the high grounds from which the Persians must be dislodged in case they should not themselves be unwise enough to descend into the plain for battle.

The number of soldiers in the army of Darius has been variously stated. The old historians, with whom exaggeration—especially of the numerical force of an enemy—was a habit, computed the Persian host at a half million of fighting men. More careful authorities have reduced the number to one hundred and forty thousand. Of these fully thirty-five thousand were cavalry. To oppose this tremendous array Alexander had in all about forty thousand soldiers.

After considerable maneuvering, in which both commanders appeared anxious lest by some misstep an advantage might be gained by the enemy, the battle began by the advance of the Persian right against Parmenio. Alexander had contemplated beginning the fight himself by assaulting the heights over against him, but when he saw that the battle was opening in another part of the field he dispatched thither the Thessalian horse to assist his veteran general. But though thus weakened he forebore not to cross the stream and assail the Persian left. On both wings the charge of the Macedonians, though stoutly resisted, was successful, and the Persians were put to flight. In the center the phalanx crossed the river, and was met on the other bank by those old Ionian Greek soldiers whom Memnon had trained in former years, and who were in an unnatural way fighting under the Persian banners.

These men were of different mettle from the barbarians with whom they fought. They had the ancient valor of Greek soldiers, and felt no doubt some mortification that the prestige of their race was about to be transferred to the Macedonians. The latter on their part regarded their antagonists as traitors to the cause of the allied Greeks, and had, besides,

their own reputation to sustain as well as wrongs to be avenged in the ranks of their unnatural countrymen. Here, then, the battle was furious and bloody. Hardly could the staggering phalanx make its way against the stubborn resistance of the Greek soldiers; nor is it certain which way victory in this part of the field would have inclined but for the overthrow of the Persian wings.

The success of Alexander and Parmenio enabled them, especially the former, to fall upon the flanks of the Persian center, and the valiant soldiers who confronted the phalanx found themselves assailed from three directions. Under such assaults they began to lose ground, but such was their valor that they nearly all perished sooner than relinquish the field. It was in this part of the battle that Darius displayed conspicuous bravery. He urged forward his chariot into the thickest of the fight and encouraged his soldiers both by voice and example until his horses were cut down and himself almost taken by the Macedonians. Nothing but the courage of his brother Oxathres saved the king from capture or destruction. In the critical moment the monarch was thrust into a fresh chariot and borne from the field. As usual in the great battles of the East the flight of the king was the signal for a universal rout. The ranks everywhere broke and fled precipitately from the scene. Only the Persian cavalry on the right wing made a stand and fought as if to sustain their old-time fame for valor. Nor did they desist from their onsets until some time after the rout had become general in all other parts of the field.

As soon as the flight began the Macedonians pressed hard upon the fugitives. Thousands were cut down in the panic and confusion. Alexander himself at the head of the cavalry bore down upon the flying foe and cut his broken ranks to pieces. His hope was to overtake and capture the king and thus end the business of the Empire. But Darius, after fleeing as far as he could in his chariot, mounted a horse and succeeded in escaping through the Amanic Gate. But so hot was the pursuit that the shield, bow, and cloak of the king were secured by Alexander.

The losses of the Persians are differently stated by different authors. The lowest estimate, which is perhaps nearest the truth, places the number slain at about seventy thousand, and of the captives at forty thousand. Nor is there any trustworthy account of the loss sustained by the Macedonians. There appears to have been an intent on the part of the Greek writers to gloss over the matter or to represent the list as insignificant. It is impossible, however, but that a severe loss must have been inflicted on Alexander's army; for the battle was long and obstinate, and the Ionian Greeks gave the phalanx blow for blow. It is known that Ptolemy and several other distinguished officers were slain.

The battle of Issus furnished several incidents which posterity has been pleased to preserve. When Alexander returned from his pursuit of Darius he learned that the family of that monarch, including his wife, his daughters, and his mother, were prisoners in the Macedonian camp. They were in the greatest agitation, believing that the king had been slain, and that they themselves would be dishonored and sold as slaves. Hearing of their distress, the conqueror at once sent his friend Leonatus to quiet their alarm, and to assure them that the king had made good his escape. They were informed that they should be treated not only with humanity, but with that courtesy which befitted their rank. The language attributed to Alexander sounds like a phrase of chivalry; for he is reported to have said to the distracted princesses that towards the Great King he had no personal enmity at all—that he warred with him only because they could not both be ruler of Asia.

On the following day the Macedonian, accompanied by his intimate friend Hephæstion, called in person at the tent which had been assigned to the captive women. When they were ushered into the presence of the royal household the princesses, mistaking the stately Hephæstion for Alexander, prostrated themselves before *him* and began to plead for commiseration. Hephæstion at once drew back and pointed to the king as the one to whom they should address themselves. Alexander at once relieved the embarrassment in

a manner that would have done honor to a crusader. He told the queen that she had made no mistake; that Hephæstion was *another Alexander*, as worthy to be esteemed as himself.[1]

In the mean time, one of the eunuchs in attendance upon the royal household made his escape and carried to Darius the story of the treatment accorded to his family. To him the thing seemed incredible. The great Oriental, believing in the essential badness of human nature, at once conjectured that his beautiful queen had fascinated his adversary, and that *that* was the occasion of his clemency. Jealousy seized him, and he was in a transp until his attendant informed him that the Macedonian was in no sense his rival—that his conduct towards the queen had been a sincere act of courtesy and consideration. Then the mood of Darius changed, and in great excitement he offered a prayer to the gods that if the empire of Asia should ever depart from himself it might fall to Alexander.

Before he could follow up his victory, Alexander deemed it prudent to complete the conquest of Syria and Phœnicia. These were the only two provinces remaining unsubdued in the western countries of the Greater Asia. The king dispatched Parmenio with one division of the army against Damascus, the capital of Syria, while he himself with the other division advanced into Phœnicia. The first expedition was soon crowned with complete success. Damascus was taken without serious opposition. Parmenio also captured a number of agents who were employed by Darius in corresponding with the anti-Macedonian party in Greece. From these Alexander learned the exact nature of the intrigues which were constantly hatched in Athens, Thebes, and Sparta, with a view to compassing his overthrow. Upon these malcontent elements in the Greek states the intelligence of the battle of Issus and of the capture of the Græco-Persian spies fell like a cold bath.

The knowledge that Alexander was absolutely master of the situation in all the western parts of Asia was disagreeable news to the reactionists, who were endeavoring to sow the seeds of insurrection in the West. Nor was the success of Parmenio at Damascus limited to the capture of the city and the emissaries. He likewise secured possession of the money-chest of Darius, out of whose abundant coffers the Western Greeks were to be persuaded to favor the interests of Persia. With this sinew of war in the hands of the Macedonians it was not likely that the Ionians and continental Greeks would any longer so greatly prefer a Persian to a Macedonian ruler.

In no part was the effect of the battle of Issus more distinctly felt than in Sparta. Agis, the Lacedæmonian king, still continued, even after the death of Memnon, to agitate measures unfavorable to Alexander. To support this movement and disposition of the Spartans Darius had, on setting out with his army to meet the Macedonian, dispatched a fleet under Pharnabazus and Antophradates to sail into the Ægean and coöperate with the Peloponnesians in a proposed expedition against Macedonia. The squadron reached the shores of Southern Greece, and Agis was busily engaged in preparing for the northern invasion when the news came of the victory of Alexander at Issus. Of a sudden the Persian commanders came to the conclusion that there was need for them in Asia. They accordingly dropped away as quickly as possible, and returned with the fleet to Persian waters. Great was the relief of Alexander when he learned of the collapse of the proposed descent on the coasts of Macedonia.

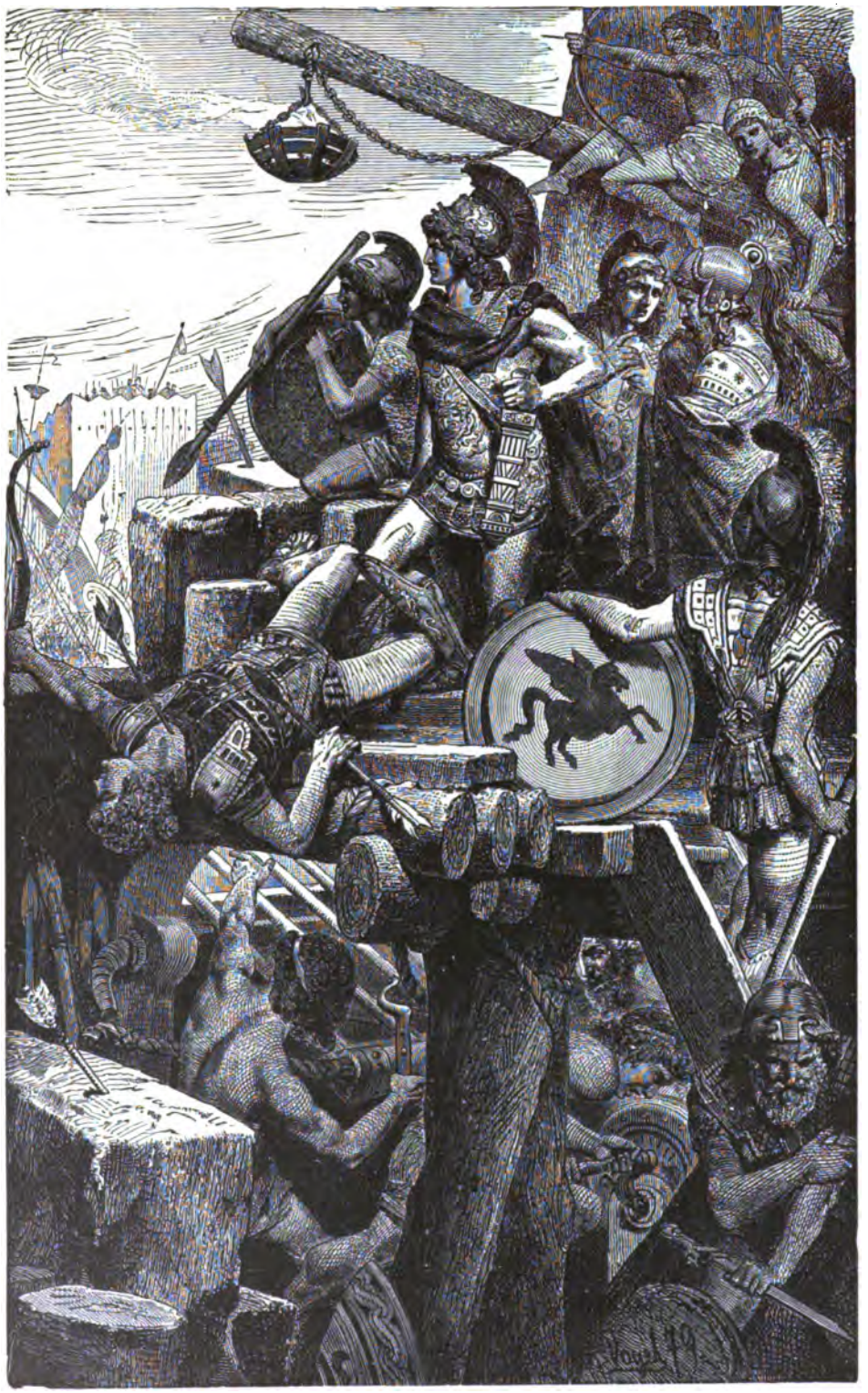
In the mean time the conqueror was proceeding to lay siege to Tyre. It was considered of the first importance that this great maritime city, from which the fleets of Persia were supplied with whatever gave them strength and efficiency, should be converted into a Macedonian dependency. While Alex-

[1] The comments of Arrian upon this incident are worthy to be repeated. "I neither," says he, "relate [this circumstance] as truth nor condemn [it] as fiction. If it be true, the pity shown by Alexander to the women and the honor bestowed on his friend deserve commendation; whilst, if we supposed them feigned and only related as probabilities, it is honorable to him to have had such speeches and actions recorded by the writers of his own times, not only as being generally believed, but as consonant with the character which he bore among his contemporaries."

ander was on his way thither, he was met at the town of Marathus by ambassadors from Darius. These came to propose in the name of their master that he and the Macedonian should become friends and allies, and to request that the Persian princesses should be permitted to return to Susa. At this time Alexander was emboldened by success, and also angered at the treacherous relations recently unearthed between the Persian court and the anti-Macedonians in Greece. He therefore answered with much haughtiness. He accused the Persian monarch of having been privy to the assassination of King Philip. He brought home the charge of having intrigued with the Greeks to compass the downfall of Macedonia. He recited various injuries done to himself and his country by the court of Susa. He announced that he himself and not Darius was now monarch of Asia, and that any further communications must be addressed to him, not as king to king, but as vassal to lord. Finally, Darius was invited, if he desired further intercourse, to come to Alexander in person, and in that event he should be treated as a subject, but with proper consideration. The conclusion of the Macedonian's message, addressed as it was by a youth of twenty-three to the representative of Cyrus the Great, is worthy to be repeated: "If you have any fears for your personal safety, send some friends to receive my pledged faith. On coming to me ask for your wife and children, and whatever else you may wish, and receive them, for every reasonable request shall be granted. Henceforth, if you have any communication to make, address me as the King of Asia; and pretend not to treat with me on equal terms, but petition me as the master of your fate. If not, I shall regard it as an insult and take measures accordingly. If, however, you propose still to dispute the sovereignty with me, do not fly, but stand your ground, as I will march and attack you wherever you may be."

A memorable dispatch! Not worded after the manner of modern diplomacy, but nevertheless intelligible. Perhaps the king of Persia was able to understand it. As soon as these negotiations were ended, Alexander pressed forward to Tyre. Before reaching the city he was met by a deputation, headed by the son of the governor, who came to proffer the allegiance of their city, but at the same time refused to permit the conqueror to enter within their walls. The proposal was so little satisfactory to the king that he demanded unconditional submission, and in case of refusal threatened to storm the town. The Tyrians would not comply, and Alexander at once proceeded to invest the city. Then followed a memorable siege of seven months' duration, in which it were difficult to say whether the besieged or the besiegers exhibited greater heroism. Tyre was built on an island, at the distance of a half-mile from the shore. Her seamen were the most expert and daring in the world. Before the Macedonian could bring his engines to bear on the ramparts, he must build a mole sufficiently broad to bear them, and extending from the shore to the city. This done, and the battering-rams being brought into position, the Tyrians succeeded in burning them before they could be made effective. Alexander now saw that he must meet the enemy on their own element. He accordingly began to train a force of sailors, and not until this work was accomplished did he find himself in a condition to assault the city with fair prospects of success. At last, however, he made the attack, and Tyre was taken by storm. The people who had so long defied him now paid dearly for their obstinacy. The enraged Macedonian soldiery was turned loose upon them, and eight thousand were put to the sword. Besides this tremendous butchery, thirty thousand of the inhabitants were sold into slavery.

Before the siege of Tyre was brought to a close a second embassy arrived from Darius. This time the Great King made the trial of money as a means of relaxing the temper of the Macedonian. He offered for the ransom of his family and as the basis of peace and friendship a sum equivalent to ten millions of dollars. As a further inducement he proposed to give his daughter in marriage and to cede to Alexander all the country in Asia west of the Euphrates. It must be confessed that the offer was highly flattering, and most warriors



ALEXANDER BEFORE TYRE.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

would have been glad to accept so vast an empire at the hand of a vanquished foe. But the son of Philip would be all or nothing. When the proposal was, according to his manner in such matters, laid before a council of his generals, the sage Parmenio, when asked for his opinion, replied: "If I were Alexander I would accept the terms." "And I, too," said Alexander, "if I were Parmenio!" It was evident that the king of Macedon had his eye fixed on the big game of the East, and that all attempts either of friends or foes to divert him from his purpose would prove in vain. A message so harsh as to be hardly in accordance with the magnanimous temper which he had so many times displayed was prepared and forwarded to Darius. The despatch was couched in the following terms: "I want no money from you, nor will I receive a part of the empire for the whole; for Asia and all its treasures belong to me. If I wish to marry your daughter I can do so without your consent. If you wish to obtain any favor from me, come in person and ask for it." Here was an end of controversy. Of a certainty Darius must yield and become a vassal, or else take the field and—lose it.

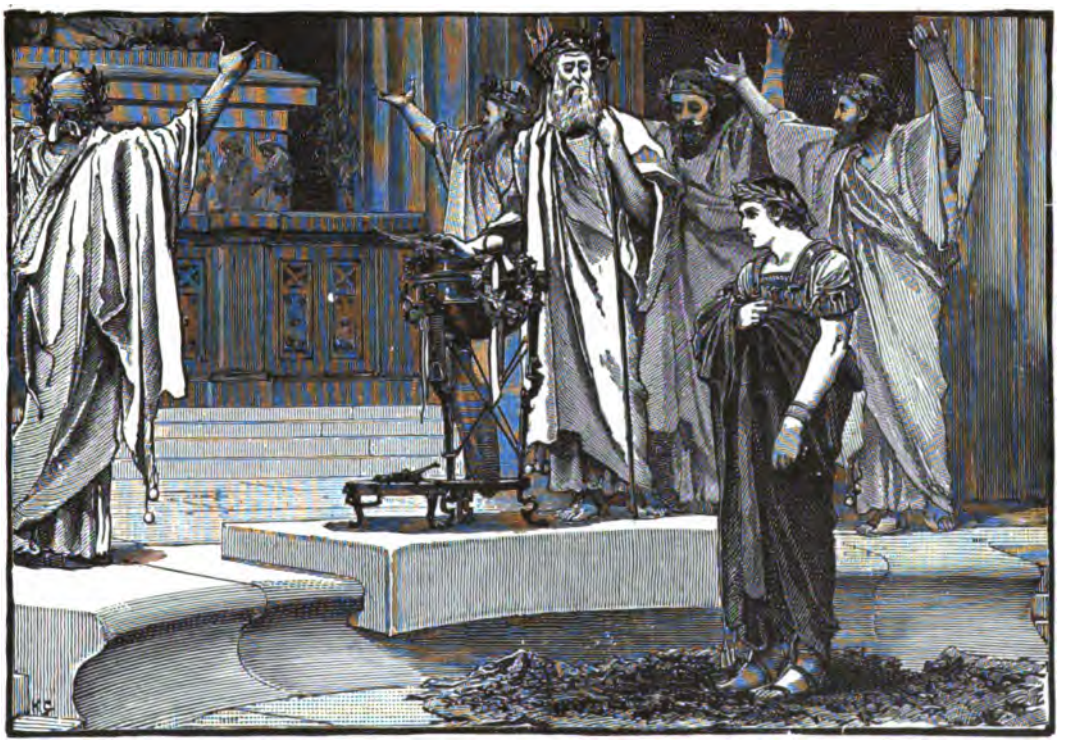
After the capture of Tyre, Alexander next turned his attention to Gaza. This strongly fortified town, situated in the midst of vast sands, was the only remaining obstacle between the conqueror and the gateway of Egypt. It was a part of his general policy to leave behind him no fortress occupied by an enemy. Gaza was garrisoned by a large force of Arabians well provided with every thing which forethought could furnish against the emergencies of a siege. The persistency of the Macedonians in their investment and final capture of Tyre had forewarned Batis, the governor of Gaza, of what he in his turn might expect. A gallant defense was made, but the town was finally carried by assault. When the Macedonians had scaled the ramparts the inhabitants with desperate courage gathered in a group and fought till the last man was killed. The town was sacked. The women and children were sold into slavery, and a Macedonian colony was founded in the ruins of the city. The incident of the siege was a severe wound received by Alexander, whose life thereby was thought for the time to be endangered.

By the fall of Tyre and Gaza the whole of Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa was given up to the conqueror. Having no longer any cause to fear insurrections behind him he now pressed forward toward Egypt. Arriving at Pelusium he demanded a surrender of the fortress, which was immediately given into his possession. The Persian governor of Egypt was next summoned to renounce his authority in favor of Alexander. Unable to resist the demand and finding that the Egyptians, long burdened with the oppressions of Persia, were in sympathy with the Macedonian, the satrap yielded without striking a blow. Thus within a week and without the shedding of blood was the sovereignty of the whole of Egypt transferred to Alexander.

It rarely happens in a case of genius such as that possessed by the son of Philip, that the exhaustless energies of the mind are able to be appeased with a single line of activity. The really great warriors of the world have generally been great statesman. Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Napoleon—each like the other—was but poorly satisfied—perhaps not satisfied at all—with the bloody work of destroying his fellow-men. In each case the ambition to bring order into the world, to regulate, to civilize the nations, rose with a larger and brighter disk than the mere ambition of war presented.

As soon as Egypt was fairly in his possession, and the conquest thus completed of all the countries west of the Euphrates, the Macedonian hero began to excogitate such measures as seemed best adapted to promote the interests of the peoples whom he had brought under his sway. One of the first schemes produced by his fertile brain was a method by which intercourse might be rendered easy and rapid between India and the states of the West. A principal feature of the plans which now occupied his mind was the establishment in Egypt of a great emporium of commerce. He first by surveys familiarized himself with the valley of the Nile as far south as Heliopolis. In the course of his examination of the country, he availed himself of every means and opportunity to win the admiration and

affections of the people. Returning by way of Memphis, he carefully examined the several mouths of the Nile. Having rejected both Pelusium and Canopus as unsuited in situation for the contemplated city, he passed to the western side of that branch of the river on which the latter town was located, and there selected a site for the proposed metropolis. To Dinocrates he assigned the work of laying out and founding the city; and as if to trust his fame to an enterprise of peace rather than to the havoc of war, he ordered that the new Egyptian capital should bear his name—ALEXANDRIA.



ALEXANDER AT THE TEMPLE OF AMUN.

It will be remembered that the family of Philip of Macedon, not without pride, traced its mythical origin to the great heroes, Perseus and Hercules. It appears that Alexander was not above the half superstitious vanity of claiming these fabulous personages as his ancestors. Such an element of vainglory in his nature it may have been which induced him, while still tarrying in Egypt, to undertake a pilgrimage across the desert to the shrine of Ra or Jove, in the oasis of Amun. Possibly, however, the impulse which urged him thither was the ambition to do what Cambyses had failed to accomplish. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the Macedonian was willing to avail himself of this means to heighten his reputation among the African races by consulting the oracle of their great deity in the desert.

Of course the journey to Amun was accompanied with miraculous indications of the favor of heaven. When the Macedonians were well-nigh dying of thirst, rain poured down in torrents. When the band of pilgrims had lost its way in the desert, two tremendous serpents suddenly appeared and marshaled them toward the oasis. Ravens likewise flew before the pilgrims. So they came to the beautiful site of the shrine of Jove. The Macedonian was received with every mark of distinction by the obsequious priests who, after the manner of their kind in all ages, were willing—

> "To bend the pregnant hinges of the knee
> That thrift might follow fawning."

Ostensibly, Alexander had visited the oasis to consult the oracle of Amun as to the va-

lidity of his own claims to be regarded as the son of Zeus. To his inquiry on this question, if we may trust the credulous fable-writers of antiquity, a favorable answer was returned by the auspicious spirit of the place; and the son of Philip was enabled to return into Egypt bearing the unequivocal honors of deity.[1]

In arriving at Memphis, Alexander at once proceeded to reörganize the Egyptian government. He also reviewed and modified, in some particulars, the governments which he had previously established in the provinces subdued by his arms. In the early spring of B. C. 331, having completed the civil arrangements to which he had devoted his time since the preceding autumn, he set out for Tyre, which place he had appointed as a rendezvous for both his fleets and armies. Here he met ambassadors from Athens and other cities of the Greek confederacy, with whom he conferred respecting the prosecution of his Asiatic campaign. He then began his movement to the East, and in the first days of summer reached the Euphrates. At Thapsacus he found the bridge across the river broken down, and the enemy in considerable force on the opposite bank; but they quickly decamped, without attempting to hinder his passage.

Alexander effected his crossing without delay, and proceeded eastward along the northern confines of Mesopotamia. He had not advanced far, however, in this direction until he was informed by deserters and scouts that Darius had led his army up the eastern bank of the Tigris, and, as if to await his antagonist, had selected a strong position on the margin of that broad and rapid stream. It is probable that this intelligence occasioned a change in the plans of the conqueror. It had been his purpose to make his way into Lower Mesopotamia, and, having captured Babylon, to press forward to Susa. But learning the whereabouts of Darius, and perceiving the intentions of the Great King to offer battle in his chosen position, he rapidly advanced in that direction. On the fourth day of his march he came in sight of the Persian host; but on the appearance of the Macedonian Darius began to recede towards the south, with the evident intention of drawing Alexander further and further into the enemy's country. But the latter pressed upon him with so much eagerness and audacity that the Persian was compelled to make a stand for battle. He accordingly selected a suitable field on the banks of the Bumadus, a small eastern tributary of the Tigris. The king made his head-quarters six miles distant from the plain selected for the fight, at the town of ARBELA, where the Persian baggage and military chests were deposited.

If we may trust the ancient authors, Darius brought to the battle-field, on which his own and the destinies of his empire were now staked, an army of foot-soldiers numbering at least a million, while the cavalry amounted to forty thousand, the scythe-bearing chariots to two hundred, and the elephants to fifteen. To oppose this limitless host, Alexander had forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse. It is not improbable, however, that this incredible disparity in numbers arose not from the facts in the premises, but from the disposition of the Greek writers to glorify the achievements of their countrymen.

Alexander at this great crisis behaved with more than his usual caution. He spent four days in fortifying his camp, and at the second watch of the fifth night drew out his forces for battle. While advancing upon the enemy, he perceived on reaching the summit of a hill the evidence of such unusual preparation on the part of Darius that it was deemed prudent to hold a council of war. Most of the Macedonian generals gave their vote for an immediate attack, but the veteran Parmenio advised that the ground which they were to traverse and the general disposition of the Persian forces should be carefully scanned before incurring the hazard of battle. With

[1] A half humorous incident of Alexander's interview with the priest of Amun has been preserved by Plutarch. It appears that the oracle, not quite willing to vouch for the divine paternity of the Macedonian, indulged in the usual trick of ambiguity. The old priest, on coming out to deliver the response of the god, is said, as if blundering in his Greek, to have addressed Alexander as *Pai Dios* (son of Jove), when as a matter of fact he was merely intending to say *Paidion* (my son). Of course Alexander's courtiers preferred *Pai Dios* to *Paidion*.

this view Alexander, whose judgment seems to have been cooled by the tremendous stake at issue in the conflict, fully coïncided, and a whole day was accordingly spent in reconnoitering the field.

In the early morning of the seventh day, all the preliminaries having been arranged, the two armies cautiously advanced towards each other, and then grappled in a struggle which was to decide the fate of Asia. The battle began with an action of the cavalry and chariots. Soon, however, the lines of infantry became involved, and the fight raged along the whole front of the field. Nor were the Greeks at first able to drive the heavy masses of the enemy before them. On no previous field had the Persians displayed so much bravery and steady discipline. The Scythian cavalry had well-nigh proved a match for the famous horsemen of Thessaly. In some parts of the field, under the tremendous pressure of numbers, the allied forces actually wavered and lost some ground. But the Macedonian phalanx, irresistible as hitherto, made its steady way, like some huge engine of destruction, upon the heavy masses of the enemy, and before its horrible forest of spears, the barbarians were forced into flight. Darius himself—whether by his own will or by the confused tides of the rout which swelled around him is not certainly known—was borne away with the roaring mass of fugitives.

Discovering the flight of the king, and eager to possess himself of the royal person, Alexander, with the cavalry, pressed forward with extreme audacity, and the Macedonian left, under command of Parmenio, who was charged with the protection of the camp, was almost fatally weakened. It happened, moreover, that the Persian cavalry on the right, opposite to Parmenio, was commanded by Mazæus, one of the ablest of the Great King's generals. This daring officer succeeded in breaking through the Macedonian lines, and captured the camp. Messengers were hastily sent to Alexander, who on the right was far in advance in pursuit of the king. With the utmost speed the conqueror wheeled and came back to the support of Parmenio. The battle on the left was renewed with desperate bravery until the Persian horse was finally put to flight.

The camp was regained, and Alexander again pressed forward in the hope of capturing the fugitive king. On arriving at the river Lycus, he found that Darius had already crossed to the other side. The pursuit was therefore given over, and, after a brief rest, the conqueror turned aside in the night, and before morning entered the town of Arbela without opposition. Here he secured the rich treasures which the Persian king, pending the battle, had there deposited. The chariot, shield, and bow of Darius were found among the captured spoils.

Of the number slain in the battle of Arbela[1] no authentic account can be given. The credulous Arrian says that the Persians lost three hundred thousand in killed and a still greater number in prisoners, while the whole loss of the Greeks is stated at not more than a hundred. Such a statement, however, is so glaringly improbable as to be entirely unworthy of respect. In general it may be said that the old authorities are of but little value in determining the numbers composing armies or the losses in battle.

After his overthrow at Arbela, Darius attempted to make a stand in Media. Around him here were gathered the scattered fragments of his army. But Alexander, knowing that the king could never again offer him any effectual resistance, now turned his course in the direction of Babylon. No serious opposition, however, was to be anticipated from the great cities of the Chaldæan plain. On arriving in the vicinity of the great metropolis a vast procession of people with priests and nobles at the head came out to surrender the city of Nebuchadnezzar to the son of Philip. The gates were opened and the citadel and treasury given up without the slightest attempt to save them from the clutch of the conqueror. Within the Babylonian vaults and treasure-houses, so vast a wealth of stores and money was found as never before had greeted the eyes of the Macedonian soldiery. Nor did Alexander lose the opportunity to establish

[1] For the true name of this great battle see Book Sixth, p. 376.

himself in popular esteem by flattering the national superstitions. Careful respect was shown to the religious rites of the Babylonians, and the conqueror himself disdained not to enter the great temple of the city and offer sacrifices to Belus.

Remaining for a while in Babylon, Alexander received a deputation from the Armenians of the North, who professed their desire to be included as subjects of his Empire. Soon afterwards a delegation arrived from Susa, the Persian capital, and he was informed of the wish of that great city to put her keys in his hands. The ambassadors expressed their dislike of the Persian dynasty, and the wish of the Susianians to share their destinies with the House of Macedon. This was important intelligence, and Alexander immediately availed himself of it by marching in the direction of the Persian capital. Before arriving at Susa, however, he was met by a son of the satrap, who came out to assure him of a hospitable reception. He was informed that the city, with all its defenses and treasures, would be surrendered without delay or opposition. Within twenty days after his departure from Babylon he reached his destination. Susa was given up, and the Macedonian found himself in possession of a sum equal to fifty millions of dollars. In the royal palace were found many of the treasures which Xerxes had taken from the Greeks. Among the rest were two bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, those famous popular heroes who slew the tyrant Hipparchus. These venerated relics were at once returned by Alexander to the Athenians, though the conqueror could hardly have been in sympathy with the cause of which they were the symbols.

While tarrying at Susa, Alexander reïnstated the wives and daughters of Darius in the royal palace. He also, in reörganizing the government, intrusted the satrapy to a native Persian, thus exhibiting a conciliatory disposition towards the traditions of the people. Meanwhile a large reënforcement, sent out by Antipater, arrived from Macedonia. With them came fifty youths from the most distinguished families, who were recommended to the king as proper additions to his body-guard.

The time had now come to begin the invasion of the original seat of the Persian Empire. Between Susiana and Persia Propet were ranges of high mountains, the passes of which must be traversed by the Macedonians on their way from Susa to Persepolis. These heights were inhabited by a race of warlike barbarians who, even in the palmy days of Persian ascendency, had maintained their independence, and were in the habit, with singular impudence, of obliging the subjects of the Great King to pay toll for the privilege of passing through the mountains. It was the program of these half-savages, on the approach of the conqueror, to occupy the cliffs, and compel the king of Macedon to pay the usual tribute. But the buccaneers of the hills were soon taught another lesson. The light-armed Macedonians, agile as the mountaineers themselves, hastily preöccupied the heights, and the barbarians were glad to escape with their lives. It was not the custom of Alexander the Great to pay for the privilege of going where he would.

At a further stage of his progress through the hill-country, the Macedonian encountered a still more serious obstacle. The Persian Gate, through which he must descend from the highland into the plain, had been seized by the satrap, Ariobarzanes, who, with forty thousand picked soldiers, had chosen this favorable position with the determination to stop the progress of Alexander toward the East. In attempting to force the pass, the Macedonians were not only checked but actually repelled, until what time Alexander, having discovered another defile through the mountains, passed through with one division of his army, and fell upon the Persian rear. The discomfiture of Ariobarzanes was complete.

It was now no longer any concern of the Macedonian what should become of the satrap who had attempted to bar his progress, but whether he himself could reach Persepolis before the fugitives from the recent overthrow should bear thither the news of his coming. He had been informed of the purpose of the Persepolitan authorities to destroy the treasures and records of the city rather than per-

mit them to fall into the hands of the ravager of Asia. It was, therefore, of great importance to Alexander, by becoming the herald of his own victory, to prevent the contemplated destruction. So rapid was his march that he dashed upon the city gates unannounced: nor could those in authority, anxious as they were to save themselves by flight, interfere to prevent the pillage of the capital. Persepolis went down, like the other great cities of Asia, before the trampler of the Orient.

Once safely established in the capital of the Empire, Alexander again found time to pause for a season from the anxieties of war. Both he and his soldiers gave themselves up to festivities not wholly free from excess and rioting. At this juncture occurred one of the least creditable transactions of Alexander's life—the burning of the magnificent palace of the Persian kings. It appears that a certain Thaïs, an Athenian *Hetæra*, celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments, was invited by Alexander to a banquet given by him to his generals. Wine flowed freely, and the Macedonian, in common with the rest, was under the influence of the inebriating cup. In the midst of the feast, Thaïs recalling to mind the demolition of her native city by the Persians, and feeling towards them that burning hatred of which a woman only is capable, proposed that, as a measure of retaliation and revenge, the torch should now be applied to the royal palace of Persepolis. It is related that the Greek generals, having recently noticed on the part of Alexander a certain inclination to look with favor on the luxurious and effeminating manners of the Persians, and fearing, as is believed lest he should, in reorganizing the Empire, conclude to establish his capital in the East, and seeing in the great palace of the Persepolitan kings a temptation to such a course, interposed no objection to the revengeful freak of the Athenian woman. Alexander, perceiving that his generals did not object to the incendiary proposition, not only gave his own assent to the wish of his favorite, but himself rushed forth with a torch and fired the royal dwelling. The progress of the flames, however, soon sobered the temporary madman, and in sudden repentance for his crime, he endeavored to save the palace from destruction; but the conflagration had already proceeded so far that only a part of the royal house could be rescued from the flames.

For four months after his entrance into Persepolis, Alexander remained in the city. Darius, meanwhile, had established himself in Ecbatana, and was there rallying such forces as he could command, in the hope of saving the northern provinces of his empire. He also busied himself with that business which had now become a part of the traditional policy of the Persian kings, namely, the instigation of a revolt among the states of Greece. In collusion with Agis, king of the Lacedæmonians, Darius succeeded, in the winter of B. C. 331–330, in organizing a formidable rebellion among the confederated powers of the West. An army was raised in Southern Greece, and an expedition planned against Macedonia. Antipater, who was still regent of the hereditary dominions of Alexander, prepared resistance, and even anticipated the movements of the enemy by marching into Peloponnesus. The war was thus precipitated upon the Spartans and their allies, and the whole issue was soon decided by a decisive battle, in which Antipater was completely victorious. The insurgents were dispersed and Agis slain. So complete was the triumph of the Macedonian cause that even in Sparta the friends of Alexander secured control of affairs, and a contingent of Lacedæmonian troops was sent forward to the king at Persepolis.

With the opening of spring the conqueror left the Persian capital and set out into Media. On his approach to Ecbatana, Darius, having heard of the failure of the movement in his favor in Greece, and finding himself unable to confront his antagonist in the field, gathered together his treasures, and with a guard of ten thousand men, left the city to become a fugitive in the earth. The city was taken without a blow, and the whole of Media was added to the new empire of the Macedonian.

With the latter it now became a prime ambition—a passion—to gain possession of the

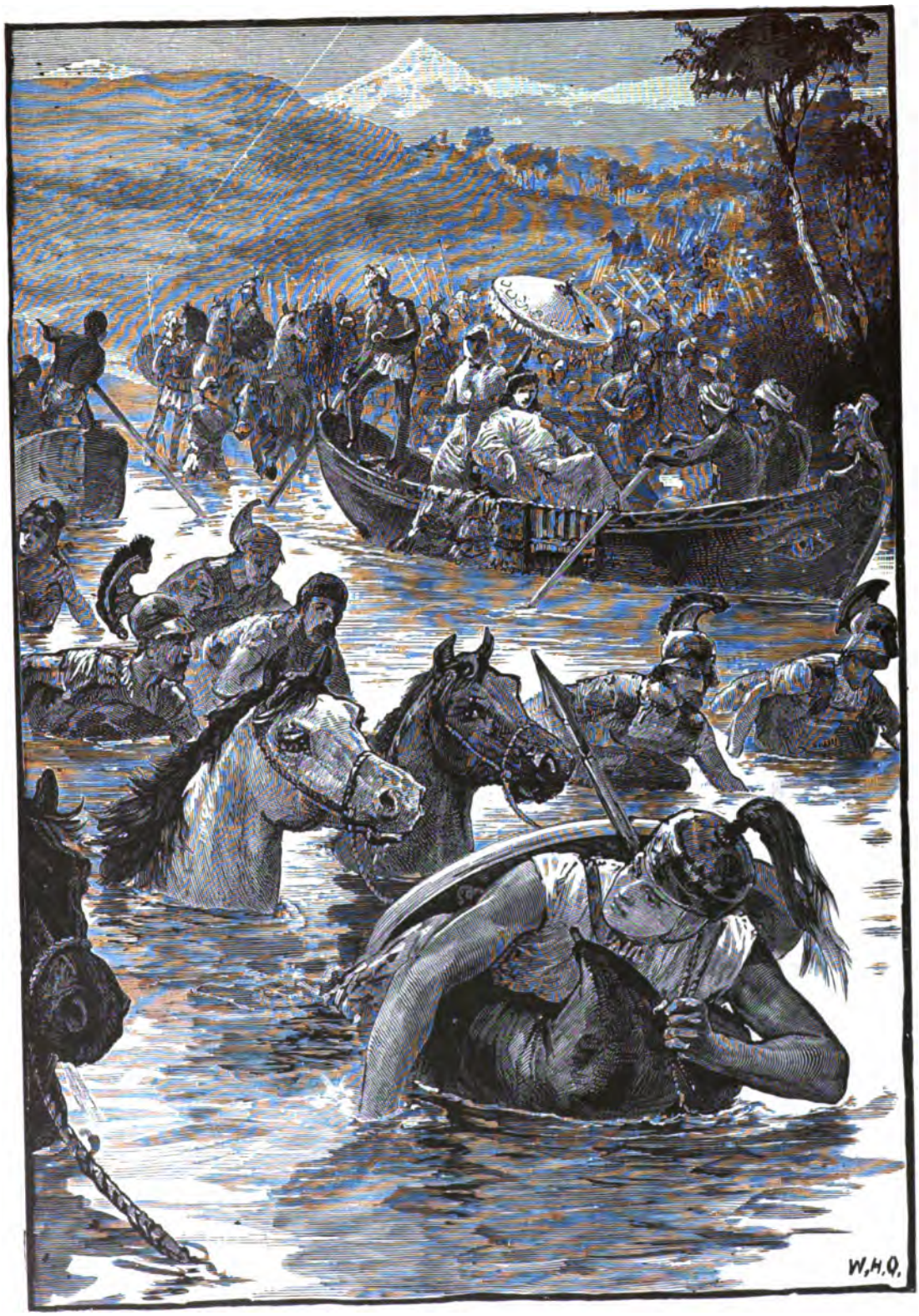
Persian king. Accordingly, having selected a body of his best troops, he started in pursuit of the royal refugee, and, after a march of incredible rapidity, arrived in eleven days at the city of Rhagæ, near the great pass of the Caucasus, called the Caspian Gate. Here he learned that Darius had abandoned the hill-country and was continuing his flight across the Parthian plains. While making a temporary pause to procure supplies and rest his men, intelligence was brought to Alexander that Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, together with two others, one of whom was a cavalry officer in the body-guard of the king, had conspired against Darius, seized his person, and were now dragging him back to be delivered to the conqueror. It was their purpose, however, after the manner of Asiatics, to hold possession of their captive, and thus be able to extort terms favorable to themselves—perhaps to sell the prisoner at an enormous price in money and preferments.

Setting out in the night, Alexander again pressed forward with great rapidity, and on the morrow arrived at a village which had just been occupied by Bessus and his confederates. Again hurrying forward across the desert, he soon came in sight of the fugitives. A brief and feeble resistance was offered to the pursuers, and then the captors of the king, fearing that Darius, when taken, might induce Alexander to punish them for their perfidy, plunged their swords into the royal captive and left him in his chariot by the road-side to die. In a few moments the conqueror was on the spot, but not until the last king of the Persian Empire had breathed out his life. Only the bleeding, lifeless body of him who had once swayed the millions remained as a trophy to the conqueror. It is not often that the history of the world has presented a scene so dramatic as that of the son of Philip standing before the dead body of his adversary. It was greatly to the honor of Alexander that he behaved with the utmost humanity in the presence of his fallen foe. The royal corpse was carefully conveyed to Persepolis, and splendidly buried in the tombs of the Persian kings.

With the death of Darius, the empire founded by Cyrus the Great was extinguished. The invasion of Xerxes, with its attendant havoc and devastation to the states of Greece, had, after a century and a-half of waiting, been amply avenged by the Macedonian conqueror. There was no longer any serious opposition to the establishment of a new dynasty on the ruins of the East. For a brief season, Bessus, the treacherous satrap of Bactria, assumed the title of Artaxerxes and laid claim to the dominions of the Great King

It was, however, but an act of vaulting ambition which o'erleaped itself and fell on the other side. He was pursued by Alexander into the province of Sogdiana, cooped up in a fortress, and finally surrendered into the hands of the Macedonians. After being mutilated according to the practice of the East, he was cruelly put to death. The Bactrians, however, for several months continued to oppose the authority of Alexander. It was found necessary to make a campaign into the country between the Caspian and the Jaxartes. This river was crossed by the Macedonian army—the furthest limit of its northward progress. The satrap, Spitamenes, called to his aid the people of Sogdiana, and the fierce Scythians, thus creating an army of formidable proportions. But the general, Cœnus, soon overthrew them in battle, and Spitamenes was pursued into the desert and put to death. Another insurgent, named Oxyartes, took possession of a fortress, situated in an almost inaccessible height, and, being well supplied with provisions, bade defiance to the Macedonians. When summoned to surrender, they coolly asked Alexander if his men had wings. This piece of bravado was answered on the following day by a Macedonian storming party, who, with hands and feet, if not with wings, ascended the cliff and carried the fortress by storm.

Among the captives found in this stronghold of the enemy was the daughter of Oxyartes, the beautiful Roxana, whom Alexander, against the half-suppressed protests of his Greeks, chose for his wife. It appears that the union was based on politics as well as affection; for it was now evident that the Macedonian contemplated the organic consoli-



MACEDONIANS CROSSING THE JAXARTES.

dation of the various nations subdued by his arms, and that he saw in intermarriage one of the chief means by which this result was to be accomplished. It was observed, moreover, that his army had of late been recruited from Asiatic sources, and notwithstanding the jealousy which this measure created among his Macedonian and Grecian subjects, Alexander persisted in the course which seemed to him most likely to conciliate the favor of the recently subjugated peoples.

Thus it was that the banner and phalanx of Macedonia were carried to the borders of India. Nor was there any doubt of the ability of the conqueror to press his way eastward until the ocean and the Himalayas should impede his progress. His army was now an army of veterans, inured in the campaigns of four successive years to every species of hardship incident to the camp and the field. Besides the discipline which they had received at the hands of the bravest and most experienced generals, the person and example of Alexander himself, who shared with his soldiers all the hardships of the march and the battle, had inspired them with enthusiasm for their leader and confidence in their abilities to conquer the world.

To these prospects of future achievement a single circumstance seemed to oppose a barrier. Of late there had arisen trouble not a little between the Macedonian and some of the officers of his army. In the first place he was led to suspect that Philotas, the son of Parmenio, was engaged in a treacherous conspiracy against himself. The young general was accordingly arrested, tried before a military commission, condemned by his judges, and put to death. This was a fatal blow to Parmenio, who, though long the confidential adviser of Philip and afterwards the ablest general of Philip's son, soon fell under suspicion of disloyalty, and, whether guilty or innocent, was speedily sent to his death. In these proceedings it was evident that the mutual trust of the king, and his officers, which for many years had survived the ordeals of privation and battle, was clouded with discontent and suspicion.

The winter of B. C. 329 was passed by the Persian army in Bactria. It was during this interval that an event occurred from the effects of which the king never wholly escaped. The Asiatic courtiers, who now constituted a part of the retinue of Alexander, began to exercise upon his character a deleterious influence. It is clear that his ear was no longer offended with the base flatteries of the East. This gradual alienation from the severe manners of his father's court was noticed with mortification by the austere Macedonians, who still constituted the body of his friends. On a certain occasion, in the Bactrian winter-quarters, a banquet was given in honor of Castor and Pollux. When all were well heated with wine, some of the fawning puppies of the East began in their usual obsequious way to flatter the king on his great achievements and divine paternity. Thereupon Clitus, the ablest of the Macedonian generals after Parmenio, and the intimate friend of the conqueror, rebuked the sycophants with all the hot words in his vocabulary.

Alexander, to his shame, interfered to stop the reproaches of Clitus, who thereupon turned on his master a torrent of well-deserved rebukes. The king, already excited with drink, gave way to passion, and in a moment of ungovernable rage snatched a weapon from one of his guards, and gave his faithful general a death-thrust on the spot. With the quick return of reason, realizing the horrible crime which he had committed, he fell into bitter remorse, shut himself up in his chamber, would not see his friends, and for three days neither ate nor drank. Finally he was persuaded that the rash murder of his friend was chargeable to Bacchus rather than to himself, and with this miserable subterfuge he quieted his conscience.

A short time afterwards an event occurred which came near costing Alexander his life. Among his retainers was a company of young men known as the Band of Pages. Their leader was a certain Hermolaüs. On an occasion Alexander accompanied these youths on a boar hunt in the Bactrian forests. When the beast was brought to bay, Hermalaüs, without waiting according to good manners for the king to strike down the game,

himself gave the death blow. Alexander, in childish anger for the affront thus offered, fell upon the young man in the presence of his companions, beat him with a rod, and took away his horse. Hermolaüs showed himself capable of revenge. Taking four of his companions into his confidence, he made conspiracy with them to kill the king that night in his bed-chamber; for the pages were the guardians of the royal sleeping apartments. It chanced, however, that the plot was overheard by the convenient old woman who was near the chamber. She thereupon persuaded the king not to retire that night; and on the following day, the young men being put to the rack, confessed the particulars of their murderous scheme. They, also, declared that the instigator of the plot was a certain Athenian named Callisthenes, an arrogant philosopher belonging to the court. He and the young men were straightway condemned and executed.

The time had now arrived to begin the contemplated expedition into India. In the spring of B. C. 327, Alexander set out across the mountain range of Paropamisus, and quickly penetrated the valley of the Indus. His army was now swollen to more than one hundred thousand men. This great force he divided into two corps, reserving the command of one for himself, and giving the other to Hephæstion. This general the king ordered to press forward to the river Cophenes, while he himself undertook the conquest of the barbarous tribes dwelling between that river and the Indus. As soon as this work was accomplished, he crossed the great river, and made his way into the eastern provinces. Several districts were rapidly overrun, and a certain Taxiles, the most important ruler of this region, made a voluntary surrender of his territories. He also sent to the conqueror a present of seven thousand Indian horses, and in other ways testified his willingness to be enrolled among the subjects of the king. Alexander cordially accepted the prince as his ally, and restored him to his dominions.

Meanwhile, PORUS, the most powerful king of South-eastern India, had gathered a vast army of his subjects and advanced to the river Hydaspes to oppose the passage of the Macedonians. For the third time in the course of his campaigns, Alexander beheld on the opposite bank of a stream the cohorts of an innumerable enemy drawn up to hinder his progress. To the mind of the Macedonian, the present emergency seemed more grave than that which presented itself at the Granicus or Issus. Instead, therefore, of dashing into the river with the reckless audacity displayed in his first battle, he hesitated and maneuvered. After making so many feints as to throw Porus off his guard, he finally succeeded in crossing in the night. A general engagement ensued with the morning light, and the Indians were completely routed. The two sons of the king and twenty-three thousand of his troops were killed. Porus himself, flying on his great war elephant, was captured and brought into the presence of Alexander.

It is narrated that the Indian prince was of so goodly a person and manners that the Macedonian, greatly impressed with the bearing of his prisoner, asked him in what way he could serve him. "By acting like a king," was the reply. "I should do as much for my own sake," said Alexander; "but what shall I do for yours?" Porus answered, "I have preferred my only request." So greatly was Alexander pleased with the response of the royal captive that he at once reïnstated him in authority; and having presently conquered thirty-seven cities on the eastern frontier, he added them to the possession of his new friend and confederate.[1]

Having completed the conquest of India, the conqueror sought recreation for himself and his men by instituting on the bank of the Hydaspes a series of gymnastic and equestrian games like the Olympic festival of Greece. When the celebration was completed, he proceeded to found in honor of his victories the city of Nicæa, and soon after-

[1] The reader can but be struck with the superior bearing of Alexander in the field. War brought out the better qualities of his character and genius. It was in the times of surcease, when his restless energies no longer found vent in the excitement of campaign and battle that his passions turned to meanness and depravity.

DEFEAT OF PORUS BY THE MACEDONIANS.

wards he selected a site for Bucephalia, so named in honor of his famous horse, Bucephalus. The conqueror then intrusted to Craterus a division of his army, with instructions to build and fortify the new cities. He himself with the remaining division again set out towards the east. He crossed first the river Acesines, and in the region beyond conquered a second prince named Porus. He then passed the Hydraotes, and came into a country inhabited by independent tribes, which attempted in their half-barbarous way to impede his progress. A battle was fought with them and they were routed in confusion. They then retired into their fortress of Sangala, and having refused to capitulate, were besieged by the Macedonian army. For a brief period the town was obstinately defended, but was presently carried by storm. Seventeen thousand of the Indians were killed in the assault, and seventy thousand more were made prisoners. The city was leveled to the ground, and the confederate tribes not involved in its destruction fled beyond the Hyphasis for safety.

All of the vast region known as the Punjaub, or Land of the Five Rivers, was now completely subjugated. Of the great streams, by which this country was watered, the Hyphasis, just mentioned, was the most easterly. This river, therefore, constituted the natural limit of Upper India. But no corresponding limit was found to the ambition of Alexander. He immediately began to prepare to cross the Hyphasis, and to continue his progress to the East. But here at last the fates had decreed that the son of Philip should pause. The arrow shot from strongest bow into highest sky must turn *somewhere* and seek again the earth in its flight. If the impulse of conquest still bore onward the conqueror himself, it was no longer felt in the breasts of his generals and men. On the banks of the Hyphasis they hesitated, wavered, refused to go further. In vain did the baffled Macedonian attempt to persuade his commanders and soldiers to accompany him to the extreme of Asia. In vain he promised them an easy and circuitous route through victory and spoil to the ocean of India. Then they should sail homeward by a brief and pleasant passage through the Persian Gulf. But destiny was fixed—they would go no further. So, to conceal his defeat and mortification, the conqueror consulted the gods and announced that the divine oracles had indeed decreed a return to Europe. Under the breastplate of Mars appeared the duplicity of the priest and the shrewdness of the politician!

So the Macedonian proceeded to build twelve pillars on the bank of Hyphasis, and left them there as monuments of his victory and as limits of his progress towards the rising sun. To Porus he then intrusted the government of the seven provinces—with their two thousand cities—which he had conquered in his Indian campaign, and himself immediately prepared to descend the Hydaspes to the Indus and the Indus to the sea.

As soon as the arrangements for the return to Europe could be completed, the conqueror formed his army in three divisions, giving the first to Hephæstion, the second to Craterus, and reserving the third for himself. The first two divisions were ordered to proceed along the river bank, while the commander himself, with his division, embarked on board a fleet built for the purpose by the Phœnician and Cypriot carpenters belonging to the army. Frequently in his progress down the river the conqueror was hindered by the hostility of native tribes. In one instance a nation called the Malli so greatly retarded his movements that he felt constrained to go on shore and besiege their capital. This was defended with much spirit by the barbarians, until Alexander, vexed with the delay, ordered the place to be carried by storm. The assault was at once made, and every thing fell before the charge of the Macedonians until they came to the citadel. Here the ramparts had to be mounted with scaling-ladders. These the king at once ordered to be brought forward; but becoming angry at what to him seemed unnecessary delay, he snatched a ladder himself, placed it against the wall, and in spite of the vociferous remonstrances of his companions began rapidly mounting to the top.

In order to save their king from what seemed certain destruction, the Macedonians pressed

after him; but just as he reached the summit the ladder broke, and all the rest were precipitated to the ground. The son of Philip was left alone on the top of the rampart, where his brilliant armor flashing in the sun made him a conspicuous mark for a hundred javelins. Nothing but his audacity saved him from certain death. Instead of attempting to escape he leaped boldly in the citadel, placed his back to the wall, and cut down the Mallian commander, with several others who rushed upon him. In a few moments three of his own trusted followers scaled the rampart and sprang to the side of their king. The first instantly fell, fatally wounded, but the other two placed themselves between the foe and the king, who had already received an arrow in his breast, and beat back the assailants until the Macedonians broke through the walls and the place was carried. The wound of the king was not such as to endanger his life, but the peril to which his rashness had exposed him was perhaps the greatest which he had ever faced in the vicissitudes of battle.

Having reached the sea, arrangements were at once completed for the return of the expedition, first to the capital of Persia, and afterwards to Europe. The army was divided into two parts, one of which was to embark on the fleet and the other to proceed overland across the Gedrosian desert; for it was deemed necessary that the two divisions by land and sea should keep within supporting distance, the land forces to supply the squadron from time to time, and the squadron to furnish the land forces with the means of embarkation should the same be found desirable.

The fleet was under command of Nearchus, and Alexander himself took charge of the division which was to proceed to Persia. Marching at the head of his columns, carrying full armor, and claiming no exemption from the hardships of the common soldier, the conqueror plunged into the desert sands, and for two months toiled on through the Gedrosian waste. Not until the expedition reached the province of Carmania were adequate supplies obtained to meet the wants of the army.

During the two years' absence of Alexander in the East, the governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa, behaving after the manner of Orientals, had resumed the oppressive methods of government to which both they and the people had so long been accustomed. Great abuses had prevailed, and the conqueror found his subjects restless and discontented under the exactions of their rulers. To regulate these disorders and to punish those of his subordinates who had proved unworthy of their trust were now the first duties of the king.

More than ever he perceived the desirability of unifying as far as practicable the diverse nationalities over which he was called to rule. He, therefore, redoubled his exertions in the way of conciliating the various peoples under his sway, and as a means of doing so he again had recourse to intermarriages. It will be remembered that the family of Darius had been left in the palace of Susa about three years previously. On returning to that place Alexander proceeded to celebrate his marriage with the eldest daughter of the late king. To Hephæstion, his favorite general, he gave a sister of the princess which he himself had chosen. To Nearchus was assigned the daughter of Mentor, the brother of that Memnon who had so ably opposed the Macedonian at the beginning of his career. Eighty of the leading commanders of the army were rewarded with princesses of Persia, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence after the style of the country. By these means the affections of the Persians were rapidly turned to him who had scourged them; but to the Greeks there was much that was distasteful in the proceedings of their great leader.

Having remained for a time at Susa, busy with plans and projects for the organization and development of the Empire, Alexander now set out for Babylon. He descended the Eubæus and then ascended the Tigris, making surveys and maps of the rivers with a view to their future improvement. A corps of competent engineers accompanied him, and these were constantly consulted as to the best means of opening the country to commerce and an improved civilization. There is no

period in Alexander's life in which he appears to a better advantage than in this careful exploration of his dominions with a view to the establishment of a reign of peace. Especially were his energies judiciously employed on arriving at Babylon. Hitherto it appeared to have been the chief concern of the rulers of that great city to protect it by some artificial means from the hazard of capture by an enemy. Fear had made a league with the Euphrates. Dams had been built across the channel in such a way as to inundate those parts before the city over which the Assyrian might assail the gates. The natural uses of the great river as a way of commerce and a source of irrigation were thus destroyed.

Alexander, on discovering the condition of affairs, made haste to open the channel for his fleet and the merchantmen of the world. He had the harbors repaired and enlarged until they were able to accommodate a thousand ships. He encouraged every enterprise which promised to facilitate the opening of commerce with distant regions, and to stimulate the industrial energies of the vast populations under his authority. He ordered his engineers to construct new channels by which the waters of the Euphrates might be better distributed for purposes of irrigation and to drain the great marshes to the west of the river, where for ages this overflow had gathered into stagnant pools, unfitting the land for habitation.

When these grand enterprises were well under way Alexander ascended the Tigris to the city of Opis, where he caused to be celebrated the Olympic festival. It was on this occasion that he had to face another mutiny of his soldiers. The veteran Greeks of his army could not conceal their inherent dislike for the manners and character of the Orientals. With chagrin and mortification they had seen their great leader more and more assimilated to the Persian mode of life. Even his dress was conformed to the styles of the East. Unable to see in all this any thing but an alienation of the king from the severe habits and discipline of his native land, the sturdy Macedonians became morose, melancholy, mutinous. They demanded the privilege of returning home. They refused longer to participate in useless struggles with barbarians and campaigns which were endless.

In this peril the genius of Alexander stood him well in hand. He made an address to his soldiers in which he reviewed their wonderful achievements, extolled their heroism, depicted the rescue of Asia from barbarism by their valor, and exhorted them not to tarnish their reputation and the glory of the Greek name by yielding to bad passions and pernicious counsels. Such was the power of the appeal that the soldiers were overcome with mingled remorse and admiration. A reaction flashed along the ranks, and the mutiny was at an end. The conqueror then availed himself of the situation by sending to their homes ten thousand of his veterans. He loaded them with rewards and honors and put them in charge of the able Craterus, whom he commissioned as regent of Macedonia in place of Antipater. Thus by prudence and sound discretion he converted an alarming insurrection into an increase of power and authority over his army.

In the mountainous district between Media and Persia dwelt a tribe of warlike barbarians who during the whole ascendency of Achæmenian dynasty had maintained their independence. Nor were they more inclined to yield obedience to Alexander. Unable to reduce them except by force the Macedonian set out from Opis and crossed the Median border. While on the way one of the satraps sent to him a body-guard composed of a hundred Amazons, perhaps the most novel contingent ever added to his army. The famous woman-warriors were mounted like troopers and carried battle-axes and lances.

Before engaging the mountaineers who had defied his authority, Alexander had the misfortune to lose his bosom friend and trusted general, Hephæstion. No previous personal loss had so deeply affected him. For days together he would neither eat nor drink. As usual when in grief, he shut himself up, and would not be consoled. At last he found some comfort in giving his friend a magnificent funeral, and then his attention was distracted by the excitements of the campaign.

In a short time the Cossees were subdued, and the Macedonian, having for the moment no other enemies with whom to contend, found time for a civil enterprise more worthy of his genius. This was the exploration of the Caspian sea. Until now it had been believed that this great body of water was but an arm of the Arctic Ocean. Alexander gave instructions to Heraclides, commander of the shipwrights, to go into the Hyrcanian forest, prepare a fleet, and determine the geographical limits of the unknown sea. He himself, when the work was well under way, departed for Babylon, having determined to make a formal entry into the city, and from that center direct the affairs of his government.

After the battle of Arbela, Alexander had intrusted the Babylonian government to the priests of the temple of Belus. These hierarchs had all the subtlety and double-dealing habits of their race. Knowing the use to which they had put the king's revenues, and dreading an examination of their accounts with the royal treasury, they undertook to prevent Alexander from visiting the city. They sent out a deputation of soothsayers to warn him that the omens were not favorable for his present coming, and advising delay. But the king easily penetrated their hypocritical anxiety, and put them to confusion by quoting a saying of Euripides that he is the best prophet who makes the best guess!

Having established himself in the palace at Babylon, he immediately resumed the great works from which he had been distracted by the campaign into Media. Further improvements of the river were projected, and he himself spent days together in an open boat, under the burning sun, directing the work of his engineers. He also planned an elaborate survey of the coasts of Arabia and Eastern Africa; and at the same time his mind was busy with future military operations, which embraced, among other schemes, the conquest of Western Europe. Nor was such an enlargement of his empire beyond the possibilities of his all-embracing genius. His fame as a conqueror had already extended to the remotest parts of the civilized world; and the dream of universal empire was less visionary with him than with any other character of history. While tarrying at Babylon, embassies came from Libya and Carthage, and from the Italian states of Lucania and Tuscany; and it is alleged that envoys were received from European Scythia as well as from Gaul and Spain.

His first actual campaign was planned against Africa, but before entering upon an enterprise so vast and of such uncertain duration, he ordered a magnificent sacrifice to the gods and a feast to his army. The day was one of the most famous in the history of the great festivals of Babylon. The king himself entered most heartily into the ceremonies, participating with his officers in the banquet with which the pageant was concluded. Whether the momentous event which followed hard after the festivities was traceable to the excesses of which the king was guilty, or whether his exposure in the marshlands about Babylon had poisoned his system with malaria, or whether his constitution was broken by the hardships and fatigues of so many campaigns, or whether all of these circumstances combined at this crisis to bring the great Macedonian to his bed—is not certainly known. At any rate, on the day after the festival he was seized with a violent fever. For several days, however, he continued to attend to his duties, bathing, offering sacrifices, and receiving embassies; but on the eighth day his condition became serious; on the ninth, critical; and on the tenth, his life was despaired of.

As soon as the intelligence was carried to the army, the soldiers were thrown into the greatest agitation. They distrusted the commanders who were near the person of their king, and broke out with violent threats unless they should at once be admitted to his presence. Certain of their number were accordingly brought into the chamber where the son of Philip was breathing his last. He exchanged a look of sympathy with his veterans, and held out his hand, but was unable to speak. He lived till the following morning and expired in the midst of his generals.

Many stories were set afloat to account for

his sudden death, one of which was that Aristotle had prepared for Antipater, the deposed regent of Macedonia, a subtle poison, which the latter forwarded to Babylon to be used against the person of the king. But subsequent investigations dispelled such rumors, and left it clear that Alexander had died from natural causes. The great event which left the empire of Asia without a master occurred in B. C. 323.

Alexander the Great, whose remarkable career has been summarized in the preceding pages was at the time of his death but thirty-two years and eight months of age. In person he was handsome and well-proportioned, though not sufficiently tall to make his presence especially commanding. The discipline of his boyhood had been such as to give him symmetry of body and soundness of constitution. Beginning the military life before he reached his majority, he became inured to every species of hardship and exposure. It was, however, in the quality of his mind that he surpassed all the heroes of his times. His ambition was as great as the arena, and the arena was the world. His courage was equal to his ambition, and his genius to his courage. His sagacity in the council was as great as his abilities in the field; and his skill in discerning the motives of men, in exposing intrigue, and in outwitting the craft of an enemy, was preëminent above all his contemporaries. Of his vices the most conspicuous were the inordinate passion of which he was sometimes guilty, and the strong appetite which he too frequently indulged. His chief follies were vanity and superstition — the former manifested in the pleasure which he evidently took in those who praised him and his deeds, and the latter in such supreme nonsense as claiming his paternity from Jupiter. As in the case of other conquerors, it has been the fate of the Macedonian to have his name used as a synonym for cruelty, heartlessness, tyranny. The superficial gaze of mankind has been fixed on the turmoil and destruction of his great battles. The bloody field strewn with the mangled bodies of thousands has shut from sight the better qualities of the man. In humanity and magnanimity he was preëminent above all the great men of his age. It may be said that by him and his father a new code of war was instituted among the nations—a code which had a method in its cruelty, and which had an end and aim beyond the mere fact of spoliation and conquest.

The consequences of Alexander's career and works were in the highest measure salutary. Before his day Asia was *effete*. For centuries the great consolidated despotisms of the East—Assyria, Babylonia, Persia—had hung like a pall on the spirit of man. Alexander dispelled the cloud and liberated from bondage. He drew across the fertile plains of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia the tremendous plowshare of reform. He stirred the nations to their profoundest depths. He broke up and trampled on the traditions and precedents of the Asiatics. He cleft the high walls which barbarism, owl-like, had reared between herself and the light; and the light streamed through. He came as a harbinger out of the young and resolute West. He and his generals were scholars and statesmen. They spoke Greek. The beautiful speech of the Hellenes flowed like quicksilver through the dirt and linguistic *débris* of the East. It carried on its liquid tide the most splendid literature of the ancient world. Art grew like a hyacinth from the mire of his battles. Letters flourished in his capitals. The barbarians heard the sound thereof and were glad. The date-palms of the Euphrates quivered with the agitation of a new life. Commerce put on new robes and walked like a queen over the long-abandoned quays of Babylon. In the course of his conquests, civilization gained a victory over darkness, and the sky brightened from east to west over half the world. Though anarchy came by his death, the results of his great activities had taken so firm hold on the soil of Asia as never to be uprooted. For men having once arisen to a better estate and felt the blessing of the sunlight do not willingly go back to darkness, or lie again contented in the wallow of barbarism.

CHAPTER LI.—SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

THE death of Alexander the Great left the world without a master. Nor had the work of organizing and consolidating the great empires, subdued by his arms, proceeded sufficiently far to give promise of successful completion. He left no successor who could rightfully claim the scepter. The children born of his Asiatic wives were not regarded as legitimate claimants of the throne. His oldest son, born of Barcina, the widow of Memnon, was but five years of age. It was not to be supposed that the burdens and responsibilities of a great military empire would be devolved upon such a child, even under a regency. Roxana, his Bactrian queen, had not yet become a mother. Of all who might with some show of reason lay claim to the succession, Arrhidæus, the half-brother of Alexander, son of Philip and Philine, held the first place, and to him the Greek and Macedonian leaders first looked as to a possible successor. But Arrhidæus had neither intellect nor ambition. His education had not been directed to the conduct of affairs, and his native force was so feeble as to make him even an inefficient tool in the hands of others. It was evident, therefore, that the strong hand of military power must be stretched out over the chaos occasioned by the death of Alexander.

As soon as the son of Philip was no more, eight of the leading generals of the army, together with Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had given his ring and signet, assembled in Babylon to consider the condition of the Empire and to devise means for its government. These eight commanders were Leonatus, Lysimachus, Aristonous, Python, Seleucus, Eumenes, Meleager, and Nearchus. Meanwhile the phalanx, being Macedonian and more concerned in the affairs of the home kingdom than in the management of the vast realms which they had helped to conquer, had, out of deference to the House of Philip, named Arrhidæus as successor to Alexander. This action soon led to a rupture between the infantry and cavalry wings of the army. The latter desired some able military chieftain, who could lead them against an enemy and sustain their fame as soldiers. The former, headed by the phalanx, preferred a legitimate sovereign, under whom Macedonia should still be and remain the central fact in the Empire. The eight leaders just referred to took sides with the cavalry, and Perdiccas was forced, partly by expediency and partly by an attempt made upon his life, to join his fortunes with the other generals. The cavalry, under such leadership, assembled without the city, and threatened to cut off supplies and starve into compliance all who opposed their views.

The great council assembled in the palace of Babylon. After a variety of projects had been discussed, it was proposed by Aristonous that the general affairs of the Empire should be intrusted to Perdiccas, with the title of Regent. The measure was carried; and he on whom the dangerous honor was imposed was thus set in direct antagonism with Arrhidæus, who had received the suffrages of the infantry. Meleager, the general of that wing of the army, found himself in a serious predicament: he must break either with his soldiers or with the Regent. He sided with the soldiers, and became their leader. This party undertook to uphold Arrhidæus, and thus a conflict was brought on which came near ending in bloody work. The forces were already drawn out for battle, the phalanx on one side and the cavalry on the other, when the catastrophe was avoided by the mingled fear and magnanimity of Arrhidæus himself. When battle was about to begin he threw himself among the soldiers, and besought them to refrain from such an act as would prove an everlasting stain upon their reputation. He publicly renounced all claim to the crown. "If this diadem," said he, "can be possessed

only by the wounds and death of Macedonians, I will instantly divest myself of the pernicious ornament. Take back the fatal present. Give it to some one worthier than I am, if he can preserve the splendid gift unstained by the blood of his countrymen." The effect of this appeal was such that the phalanx receded from its attitude, and gave in its allegiance to the regency under Perdiccas. With him, however, in a short time Leonatus was associated in the government, and soon afterwards Meleager as a colleague.

Soon after the completion of these arrangements Queen Roxana gave birth to a son. The event was hailed as a glad omen, and the child was honored with his father's name. It was ordered that the infant should be nurtured with the greatest care and treated as the heir expectant of the Empire. The next thing demanding the attention of the leaders was the division of the provinces. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, chose for his portion the Nile valley, and thus became the founder of the Græco-Egyptian dynasty. By this choice he was removed somewhat from the broils into which he foresaw that his colleagues would in all likelihood be plunged. Antipater received Macedonia, but with him was associated the veteran Craterus, whom it will be remembered Alexander had sent thither as regent. The Thracian states fell to Lysimachus, and Cappadocia to Eumenes. The Greater Phrygia was assigned to Antigonus, and the Lesser to Leonatus. The home provinces of Persia were allotted to Pencestes, and the kingdom of Media to Python. Perdiccas received Babylonia and retained as his lieutenants in the government Aristonous and Seleucus. Thus was the world parceled out among the generals of the conqueror.

During all these important transactions the body of the great dead lay unburied in Babylon. He had given directions that he should be interred in the oasis of Amun, near the shrine of Zeus. At length Perdiccas undertook to fulfill the injunction of his master. The body was embalmed and preparations made for a grand pageant to the distant place of burial. Two years, however, elapsed before the funeral was actually completed; and then the plan was changed and Alexandria substituted for the Libyan oasis as the place of sepulture. Nor could posterity complain that the great city founded in his honor was selected as the final resting-place of the son of Philip rather than the green spot in the desert which superstition more than rational preference had suggested.

The first disturbance which demanded the attention of the Regent Perdiccas was the revolt of the mercenary Greeks. These troops had been placed as garrisons and colonies in the cities of northern and eastern Media, and upon them was imposed the duty of maintaining those borders of the Empire intact from the encroachments of barbarians. As soon, however, as it was known that the king was dead, the Greeks, believing themselves now free from restraint, revolted, and placing themselves under a commander of their own began their march for Greece. Perdiccas at once dispatched his lieutenant, Python, to suppress the insurrection and turn back the insurgents to the places from which they had issued. This officer, however, proved treacherous and formed a design of making Media independent, but Perdiccas sent after him public orders to kill all the Greeks and divide their property among the Macedonian soldiers. The nature of the orders being known in the army Python durst not disobey, and the bloody mandate was executed without mercy.

The next revolt was in the province of Cappadocia. The people of this country, under the lead of their native king, Ariathes, bade defiance to the rule of the Macedonians, and Perdiccas intrusted to Eumenes the task of reducing them to obedience. The character of these warlike barbarians was well known to the Regent, and he accordingly ordered Antigonus and Leonatus, governors of the two Phrygias, to assist in the work of subjugation. Both, however, refused to obey the order, and Perdiccas himself was obliged to march to the aid of his colleague. Notwithstanding the valor of the Cappadocians, they were quickly overthrown by the veteran Macedonian army, and the authority of Eumenes reëstablished on a firm basis.

Soon afterwards an insurrection broke out

in Pisidia and Isauria. The former country was quickly overrun, the capital taken by assault, and the inhabitants put to the sword. The mountaineers of Isauria, however, made a more successful resistance. Being finally cooped up in their principal town, they made a desperate

FESTIVAL IN HONOR OF THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER'S SON.
Drawn by H. Leutemann.

defense. When hope was lost they fired their houses, burned their wives and children, drove back the assailants from the ramparts, and then, discovering the impossibility of escape, turned about and perished in the flames. The Macedonians succeeded in taking a town of bones and ashes.

The epoch that followed the death of Alexander is mostly filled with events growing out of the quarrels and jealousies of those into whose hands the Empire had fallen. It was not long until Ptolemy formed a scheme to marry the daughter of Antipater. This action of course contemplated the ultimate union of Macedonia and Egypt. Perdiccas, whose craft in the cabinet was by no means equal to his generalship in the field, having heard of the project of Ptolemy, claimed Antipater's daughter's daughter for himself; but he was soon reminded that not even this politic marriage was as advantageous as another which was possible. For there was Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, whom he might solicit, and thus unite himself directly with the House of Philip. So the marriage to the daughter of Antipater was annulled in favor of that with the princess. But meanwhile the friends of Arrhidæus, who was still nominally the successor to Alexander, urged him to seek an alliance with Eurydice, also of the royal blood. This princess, however, was presently put to death, as was believed, by the influence of Perdiccas. This event raised such a mutiny that the Regent was glad to recede from his position and begin a policy of conciliation towards his rivals.

As soon as affairs were again quieted Perdiccas summoned Antigonus to repair to Babylon and defend himself against the charge of insubordination in refusing to aid Eumenes in the Cappadocian war. But the general refused to obey the summons. In this course he was encouraged by Antipater and Craterus in Macedonia and Ptolemy in Egypt. These rulers, alarmed at the assumptions of the Regent, who now blinked not at all his claim to authority over all the dominions of Alexander, made a league against him, and took up arms to maintain it. In the matter of war, however, Perdiccas was perfectly at home. He at once planned an invasion of Egypt, and hastened as a measure of preparatory revenge to strip Antigonus of his government, conferring the same on Eumenes. Nor were Antipater and Craterus behindhand in preparations. By the time that the Regent was ready to begin his descent on Egypt they were on the march into Asia. The defense of the country against them was intrusted to Eumenes. With an army of about twenty thousand men he met the invaders near the plain of ancient Troy. One of his officers, named Neoptolemus, deserted and went over to Craterus; and by his counsel that able veteran was put off his guard, considering the forces led by Eumenes no more than a medley of barbarians. The battle soon showed the mistake. Eumenes was completely victorious. Craterus and Neoptolemus were both slain, and even the phalanx was driven to the mountains.

In the mean time Perdiccas was making his way towards Egypt. Once on the confines of that country, he summoned Ptolemy to come into his presence and answer a long list of charges. This the Egyptian governor did in a manner to exculpate himself; but the baffled Regent at last found a pretext in this—that Ptolemy had assumed to arrest the funeral cortege of Alexander, and to bury the body of that hero in an Egyptian city instead of in the oasis of Amun. So the invasion was continued to Pelusium. Ptolemy proved himself equal to the emergency. He planned a series of fortifications which the assailants were unable to carry. A part of the forces of Perdiccas were drowned in attempting to cross the Nile, and his army, being divided by that stream, was attacked in detail and utterly routed. The Regent, availing himself of the protection of the survivors, was glad to withdraw from the country. Soon afterwards, B. C. 321, when he was preparing to renew the contest with Ptolemy, he was assassinated in his tent by Python, that disloyal general whom he had previously sent against the revolted Greeks in the Median cities.

Two years before this event a league had been formed in Greece for the overthrow of Macedonian authority. As usual, Athens headed the confederacy. The command was

intrusted to Leosthenes, who advanced at the head of about twenty thousand men and took possession of the pass of Thermopylæ. From this stronghold Antipater was unable to dislodge him, and was himself so much worsted in the battle that he fell back and defended himself in the town of Lamia, near the Malian gulf.

Word was now sent to Asia Minor asking Leonatus, the governor of Phyrgia, for reënforcements. The latter made a rapid march into Macedonia, and Leosthenes meanwhile, in the attempt to prevent a junction of his enemies, made several unsuccessful assaults on Lamia, in one of which he was killed. His successor, Antiphilus, hearing of the approach of Leonatus, went forth to meet him on the northern confines of Thessaly. Here a bloody battle was fought, in which victory remained with the Greeks. Leonatus was slain and the larger part of his army sought refuge in the mountains. But Antipater soon succeeded in rallying his forces and gained a complete victory over Antiphilus. The Greeks sued for peace, but the Macedonian would not treat with them except as separate states. This put Athens at his mercy. He dictated to the Athenians a change of government and compelled them to surrender Hyperides and Demosthenes, the two principal orators of the democracy. The former, however, made good his escape from the city, and the latter, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, ended his life by poison. The Athenians perceived that the magnanimity of Philip and Alexander was no longer to be expected from the court of Macedon.

After the overthrow of Perdiccas at Pelusium, it was within the power of Ptolemy to seize the regency for himself. Instead, however, of taking this ambitious course, he contented himself with nominating for that important office his friend Arrhidæus, one of the conqueror's generals not hitherto conspicuous. He it was who, conducting the funeral pageant of Alexander, by way of Egypt to the African oasis, had been persuaded by Ptolemy to erect the royal tomb in Alexandria instead of the desert.

After the overthrow and death of Craterus at the hands of Eumenes, the passions of the Egyptian army were greatly inflamed. They heard of the destruction of their old general with mortification and rage. This was directed first of all against Perdiccas as the cause of the unseemly broil between friends. After the death of the Regent they looked to Eumenes as the responsible representative of the mischief, and so they resolved to exterminate him and all his confederates. Fifty of the leading adherents of the late Perdiccas, including his brother Alcetas, were proscribed, and the army at once set out through Syria to enforce the edict. At Triparadus, however, they were met by Eurydice, the wife of Arrhidæus, and by her persuaded to abandon the enterprise. Her influence became, for the hour, well-nigh omnipotent, and when Antipater, who had been sent for, arrived at the scene, he was amazed to find that not even his presence was sufficient to break the spell with which the queen had bound the soldiery. Attempting to bring his old soldiers to their senses, they turned upon him and would have put him to death, but for the timely interference of Seleuces and Antigonus. Presently, however, a reaction set in, such as could hardly be looked for except in a mutinous army, and the veterans made haste to proclaim Antipater regent! Accepting the trust at their hands, he returned to Macedonia, in B. C. 322, and assumed the duties of directing the affairs of the dissolving Empire.

Several changes had now become necessary in the provincial governments. Eumenes was declared an outlaw, and his satrapy of Cappadocia conferred on Nicanor. Clytus was appointed to the governorship of Lydia, and Cilicia was conferred on Philoxenes. As yet, however, all of these provinces lying within the dominions of Eumenes, were under his authority, and must be taken from him by force of arms before these new governors could gain possession of their respective territories. The regent Arrhidæus was now confined in his authority to Hellespontine Phrygia. Last and greatest of the provinces was Babylonia, which was awarded to the young and ambitious Seleuces.

These arrangements having been completed,

Antipater undertook the subjugation of Eumenes. With him Antigonus joined his forces, and the campaign against Cappadocia was pressed with vigor. Nora, the strongest fortress in that country, was besieged, and Eumenes was hard pressed to hold out against his assailants. While the blockade was still in force, the unscrupulous Antigonus made overtures to Eumenes, and tried to induce him to enter into a league against Antipater; but Eumenes replied that he would enter into no alliance with any except a representative of the House of Alexander. He then returned into the fortress, and the siege was resumed.

Before the place could be taken Antipater died, and Polysperchon was appointed to succeed him in the regency. In the mean time, the son of Roxana was associated with Arrhidæus, and both were put in charge of the new Regent. It soon became apparent that Antigonus had expected the general management of affairs to devolve on himself, and finding another preferred before him, he began to take counsel how he might obtain by force or intrigue that which was denied him by the free-will of others. He accordingly entered into a conspiracy with Cassander, the son of Antipater. This ambitious soldier had succeeded in gaining the affections of Eurydice, and hoped to gain not only her, but with her the shadowy Empire, the crown of which was worn by her half-imbecile husband.

For this piece of political gallantry Cassander was disinherited by his father. The young man had fled to Antigonus, and now became his natural ally. Hereupon Antigonus took the field and attempted to win by open force, while Cassander, remaining in the shadow, continued to operate by subtlety. Ephesus was presently seized, and some ship-loads of money, amounting to six hundred talents, destined to meet the expenses of the Imperial government of the East, were captured by Antigonus. Eumenes was again tempted to join him in an alliance against Polysperchon, but could not be seduced from his loyalty.

The faithful satrap presently thereafter succeeded in making his escape from Nora, and thus brought the siege to naught. He soon afterwards entered into an open alliance with Polysperchon, who conferred upon him the supreme command of all of the Asiatic armies of the Empire. Another measure of the Regent was his edict reëstablishing democracy in all the states of Greece. It was thought by this means that the allegiance of the Hellenic commonwealths would remain unshaken, notwithstanding the temptations to which they were subjected by Antigonus. The event, however, was the introduction of a reign of confusion such as not even the turbulent Greeks could well endure. For a while the popular distraction knew no bounds. The worst elements of society became suddenly predominant. At Athens the aged Phocion, who had been forty-five times elected general by the assembly, and was now eighty-five years old, was condemned by the rabble to drink the hemlock. During the year 318 B. C. a desultory warfare was carried on between Cassander and Polysperchon. A naval battle was fought in the Bosphorus, in which Nicanor, the admiral of Antigonus, was defeated with a loss of one-half of his ships; but that satrap a few days afterward made a sudden descent upon the victors while encamped on the coast of Thrace, and in the battle of Byzantium inflicted on them a bloody defeat. Athens thereupon surrendered to Cassander, and the government was conferred on Demetrius Phalereus.

Meanwhile Polysperchon, as a means of strengthening his government, had brought home to Pella, Olympias, the mother of Alexander. That ambitious and passionate woman became a powerful influence in the affairs of state. Her favorite scheme was to secure the united dominions of the conqueror for her grandson Alexander, son of Roxana. The ascendency of Eurydice over the supporters of her husband, Arrhidæus, was equally marked. It thus happened that the Macedonian world was torn almost as much by the rivalries of two women as by the arms of Cassander and the Regent. The struggle, however, was brief as it was fierce. Olympias, having gained over the soldiery to her cause, compelled Eurydice and her husband, the king, to fly for their lives. Having soon afterwards obtained possession of their persons, she caused them

both to be assassinated. Thus, after a nominal reign of six years, was extinguished the spectral successor of Alexander the Great.

Cassander was greatly enraged at this atrocity and hastened into Macedonia to avenge the death of Eurydice. On his approach the aged Olympias took counsel of discretion and escaped from the city. With her grandson, Alexander Ægus, and his mother Roxana, she shut herself up in the strong fortress of Pydna, and was there besieged by Cassander. At the last, famine effected what arms had failed to accomplish, and the relentless old queen surrendered herself to her enemies. She was subjected to the form of a trial and put to death.

While these events were happening in Europe the struggle continued between Eumenes and Antigonus in Asia. The former, in addition to the conflict with his enemies in the field, was troubled not a little in his civil councils. The Macedonians, upon whom he was compelled to rely for support, looked upon him with disfavor, for he was a man of obscure birth and foreign parentage. Meanwhile Antigonus, after his victory in the battle of Byzantium, began a pursuit of Eumenes, who was then with his army in Phœnicia.

The latter, unable to meet his foe in the field, began retreating toward the east. He called upon Seleucus, the Babylonian satrap, to aid him with men and supplies; but that prince, instead of complying, opened the sluices of the Tigris and came near destroying Eumenes and his whole army. They escaped from their peril, however, and made their way as far east as the borders of Persia. Here, in B. C. 316, they were overtaken by Antigonus, and a battle was fought, with indecisive results. In a second conflict, however, Eumenes was defeated and taken prisoner. He was carried through the Macedonian camp and begged the soldiers to kill him, but they would not. But soon afterwards he was secretly put to death in prison. For twenty years he had fought for the House of Philip; and after every other general of note had abandoned the cause of Alexander and begun to contrive for himself, he still continued to strive for the maintenance of Macedonian supremacy. Among the many who had given free rein to selfishness and treachery, Eumenes alone kept his honor bright and went down to the grave without a stain on his escutcheon.

Antigonus, having thus triumphed over all opposition, assumed the regency. Polysperchon retired into Peloponnesus. Olympias was dead. The young Alexander Ægus was thus left naked to his enemies. Antigonus gathered his forces and made a campaign into Media. Having observed that of late the veteran cohort known as the Argraspides, or Silver-shields, had had too much to do in settling difficulties appertaining to the government, he dispatched them on arduous expeditions to the frontier provinces for the purpose of wearing them out with privations and fatigue. A second measure was to get rid of Python. That turbulent spirit was invited to join Antigonus with the promise of preferment, but was presently seized and put to death. Then followed the overthrow of Peucestes, satrap of Persia. Being jealous of this officer, Antigonus followed him to his capital, Pasargadæ, and having driven him from authority appointed one of his own tools as his successor.

The next object of the Regent's dislike was Seleucus, governor of Babylonia. Dissembling his purpose, he marched to the capital and was royally entertained by Seleucus; but the latter, perceiving that he was destined to fall by the same hand that had destroyed Python and Peucestes, made his escape from Babylon and fled to Egypt. He was cordially received by Ptolemy, and the two immediately sent proposals to Cassander and Lysimachus to enter into a league against the ambitious Antigonus. They were joined by Asander, satrap of Caria, and the confederates then made their demands of the Regent. But he rejected the overtures with disdain. Both parties made preparations for war, and in B. C. 315 hostilities began. The struggle continued for a period of twelve years, and involved all the leading populations from the Adriatic to the Indus.

In the beginning of the contest Antigonus invaded Caria, and Asander, the governor, was overthrown. The Regent next succeeded in securing the favor of a strong party in Peloponnesus, where Polysperchon still main-

tained a shadowy authority. Having thus gained a foothold, Antigonus made war on Cassander and stripped him of all his Grecian dependencies. He next turned his arms against Lysimachus, governor of Thrace, and him also he overthrew and drove from his dominions. Syria was next conquered, chiefly through the warlike abilities of Demetrius, the son of the Regent. The government of Ptolemy still remained intact.

At this juncture the confederates made known their desire for peace; but the ambition of Antigonus had grown with what it fed on, and he would listen to nothing. Ptolemy thereupon took up arms and went forth with a large army to Gaza. Here a decisive battle was fought, in which the Egyptian was completely victorious. The fortunes of Antigonus were so badly shattered that Seleucus was enabled to return to Babylon and resume the duties of his satrapy. The Syrian cities opened their gates to Ptolemy, who intrusted the defense of the conquered countries to Cilles and returned to Alexandria. His lieutenant, however, was soon defeated in two battles by Demetrius, and all that Egypt had gained was as suddenly lost. Ptolemy was obliged to give up Syria to the foe.[1]

After his return to Babylon, Seleucus was obliged to defend himself against the satraps of Media and Persia. It will be remembered that these officers had been elevated to power by Antigonus, and their continuance in authority now depended upon their supporting his cause. But Seleucus, collecting his forces, went forth against them and they were overwhelmingly defeated. Evagoras, the Persian governor, was left dead on the field, and Nicanor of Media was obliged to save himself by flight. This victory, B. C. 312, was decisive in one part of the struggle. Seleucus was firmly seated. A Greek kingdom in the East was thus established, with its capital at Babylon. The great dynasty of the SELEUCIDÆ was founded on the Euphrates, under whose beneficent government the eastern part of the dominions conquered by Alexander were destined for a long time to enjoy a measure of peace and prosperity.

The sudden success achieved by Seleucus induced Antigonus to listen to proposals for a general settlement. An important conference was accordingly held between himself and the confederate leaders, and conditions of peace were agreed upon. It was decided that Egypt should be given to Ptolemy and his successors. Thrace went to Lysimachus; and Macedonia, not including Greece, was awarded to Cassander until such time as Alexander Ægus, the son of the conqueror, should arrive at his majority. Antigonus reserved Asia for himself, thus refusing to recognize the government of Seleucus at Babylon. Thus by the successors of Philip's son was the world again parceled out into kingdoms.

Scarcely had this settlement been effected when Cassander opened the ball by the murder of the young Alexander and his mother, Roxana. Then followed soon afterwards the destruction of Hercules, another son of the conqueror, and Barcina, his mother. Thus at last was the deck cleared of the legitimate claimants to the crown of the Macedonian Empire. The bloody conspirators now had the game to themselves.

In a short time, Ptolemy, in disregard of the terms of the treaty, made a campaign into Syria and retook certain cities belonging to Antigonus. He then opened a correspondence with Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, with a view to marriage; but Antigonus, having discovered what was going on, sent a dispatch to the satrap of Sardis, where Cleopatra resided, and had the princess assassinated.

Soon after this event Demetrius raised a large force and invaded Greece. By the terms of the treaty the Grecian states were to remain independent; but Cassander had at once seized them as a part of the spoils belonging to him. With an armament of two hundred and fifty galleys, and five thousand talents in money, Demetrius now proceeded to enforce the settlement. The Athenians went wild over this ghastly restoration of

[1] It was in the withdrawal of Ptolemy from Syria that he was accompanied to Alexandria by the Jews, who thenceforth constituted so important an element of population in that city.

their liberties. As soon as quiet was restored, Demetrius proceeded to Cyprus, which was now occupied by the forces and partisans of Ptolemy, and laid siege to Salamis, the capital of the island. The Egyptian ruler came out with a large squadron to the relief of the city; but in a severe naval battle he was so completely defeated that he could offer no further resistance to the progress of his enemy. Salamis and the other towns of the island surrendered, and were transferred to Antigonus, in whose name Demetrius made the conquest.

PTOLEMY SOTER.

The blow inflicted on Ptolemy in his unfortunate sea-fight suggested to Antigonus the invasion of Egypt. With a powerful army of ninety thousand men and eighty elephants he marched through Syria to the coast, and then embarked for the mouth of the Nile. A storm, however, shattered the squadron, and on arriving in Egypt he found a united people and a country rendered almost impregnable by the skill and energy of his adversary.

Such was the aspect of affairs that he was obliged to adopt the humiliating expedient of retreating without striking a blow. In order, however, to redeem his reputation, he directed his flotilla to the island of Rhodes, and undertook the subjugation of the capital city. For more than a year Demetrius beat about the ramparts with every species of enginery known to the military skill of the times; but the Rhodians, assisted by Ptolemy, held out against him, until at last he was obliged (B. C. 305) to abandon the siege and grant to Rhodes her independence.[1]

Notwithstanding these reverses to his arms, Antigonus still indulged the ambitious project of regaining all the dominions of the Empire. He looked to the subjugation of Egypt, Macedonia, and the East. So aggressive were his movements that the former league of Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus against him was renewed, and both parties prepared for war. Seleucus entered Cappadocia with twenty thousand men, and the leaders came from the West to join his forces. It was now B. C. 301, and another crisis had arrived in the history of the nations subdued by Alexander. Antigonus and Demetrius, at the head of their army, met the allies at the little village of IPSUS, and here the decisive battle was fought. Antigonus was slain. His army was routed; and Demetrius barely escaped with eight thousand men. A new division of territory followed; Cœle-Syria and Palestine fell to Ptolemy; the larger part of Asia Minor to Lysimachus: ANTIOCH became the capital.

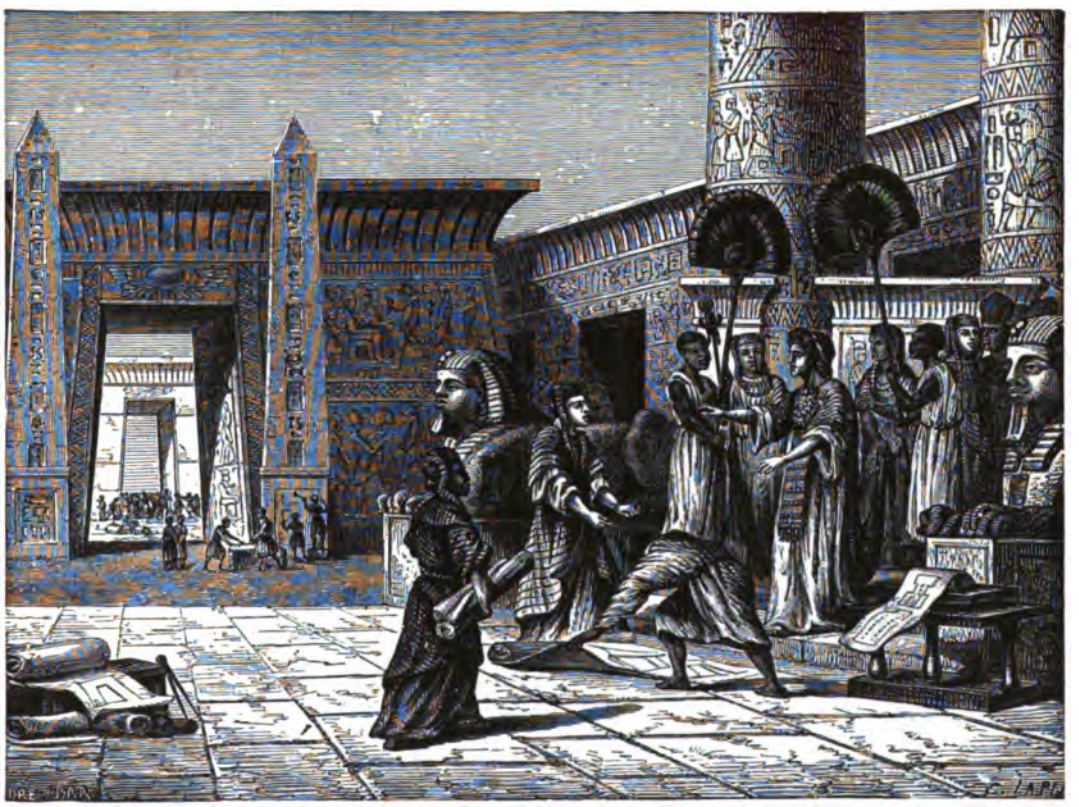
In this strait of his affairs, Demetrius was suddenly relieved by fortune. Seleucus, now jealous of the growing power of Lysimachus, came to the rescue and formed an alliance with Demetrius by marrying his daughter Stratonice. The father, whose political estate was thus unexpectedly improved, at once resumed the aggressive, retook Cilicia from Lysimachus, and, in B. C. 295, made a successful invasion of Greece. In the next year he was declared king of Macedon, an incentive thereto being his marriage with Phila, the daughter of Antipater.

As soon as he was well seated in authority Demetrius renewed those visionary schemes which his father had entertained even to the day of his death. The son was equally ambitious, and would fain make good his claims to universal dominion. He accordingly organized a powerful army with a view to entering upon a career of conquest. At the outset he was opposed by Lysimachus and Ptolemy. While his attention was directed to these

DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES.
Museo Visconti.

[1] It was in commemoration of the aid given to the Rhodians by Ptolemy in this memorable siege that they conferred on him the title of *Soter*, or *Savior*—a title more generous than just; for it was to their own heroism that they owed their deliverance.

formidable antagonists, a foe still more to be dreaded appeared in Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. With him he went to war, but on approaching the borders of his adversary large bodies of the troops of Demetrius went over to the enemy, and he was obliged not only to abandon the campaign, but also to leave his own kingdom to the combined ravages of Pyrrhus and Lysimachus. The Macedonian, however, continued the war in Asia Minor, until he was betrayed by his son-in-law, Seleucus, surrendered to his enemy, cast into prison, and brought to his death.



PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS DISCUSSING WITH THE ARCHITECTS THE PLANS FOR THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.

In the mean time Ptolemy Soter was succeeded in Egypt by his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus—presumably so called because he did *not* love his brother; for Ptolemy Ceraunus, the oldest son of Soter, was displaced by that ruler in favor of the younger, who became his successor. Arsinoë, the sister of Philadelphus, was married to Lysimachus, and him she is said to have instigated to murder his brilliant son Agathocles—an event which made the king an object of execration in all the West. His punishment was left to Seleucus, who, in B. C. 281, marched into Asia Minor, met Lysimachus on the field of CORUPEDION and slew him in battle. Before leaving his capital, however, the now aged Seleucus had virtually abdicated the government in favor of his son, Antiochus, in whose hands he placed his young wife Stratonice.

In these acts the venerable monarch was largely influenced by a desire which had possessed him to revisit his native Macedonia. As soon as the battle of Corupedion had been decided in his favor, he continued his course to the West, and was presently rewarded with a sight of his native hills, which he had not beheld *for fifty-two years*. Soon afterwards, while with an old man's curiosity he was examining an ancient altar, Ptolemy Ceraunus, who had accompanied him on his return into Macedonia, stole behind and

stabbed him to death. The murderer at once repaired to Lysimachia, and announcing himself as the avenger of their late king's death, seized the throne and held it for the space of three years.

From all this blood and violence it is a grateful relief to turn to the court of Philadelphus. To him it is fair to accord the praise of being the most enlightened sovereign of his times. He made Egypt more glorious than she had been since the days of the great Pharaohs of antiquity. Alexandria became under his munificent patronage the most splendid seat of learning in the world. Men of letters from all quarters of the world came hither as to an asylum. He founded the Alexandrian library, and invited to his court the most distinguished scientists, poets, and philosophers. He participated in their learned discussions, and with a discernment that would have done credit to Francis Bacon sought to draw them away from the region of inane speculation and to limit their researches to the things beneficial to men. The great Pharos which had been begun by Ptolemy I. was completed in B. C. 280, and the glare of its flaming torch was flung for more than forty miles across the Mediterranean.

HALL IN THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY.

Thus, in the city named after the conqueror of Asia, the light and learning of Asia was mingled with the enterprise of the West.

With the death of the aged Seleucus perished the last of those remarkable military chieftains who had followed the fortunes of Alexander the Great. The personal struggles of those who had heard the voice of that mighty hero in battle ended with the battle of Corupedion. Antiochus was left with the

Greek kingdom of Syria. Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt; Ceraunus in Macedonia. By him the sons of Lysimachus were murdered, Arsinoë driven into Egypt, and Antigonus, son of Demetrius, excluded from the throne.

But the blind Nemesis, ever on the trail of the butcher, soon sent her avenging ministers to balance the disturbed scales of justice. The Gauls came. Having acquired rather than appeased an appetite for plunder during their recent invasion of Italy, they now poured into Thrace and Macedonia. Without proper preparation or due caution in the presence of such a foe, Ceraunus went forth and gave them battle. The result was that his army was cut to pieces by the barbarians and himself slain in the fight. The invaders then made their way into Asia Minor, selected their province, conquered it, and gave it the name of *Galatia*.

PHAROS OF ALEXANDRIA.

After a long struggle with King Pyrrhus and the Gauls, Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, at length secured the throne of Macedonia and took the title of Antigonus II. In a reign of twenty-seven years (B. C. 269–242) he embroiled himself but little with the affairs of surrounding kingdoms. In an attempt, however, which he made upon the liberties of the Greek states, he stirred up so much resentment that, under the lead of the Achaians an alliance, known as the ACHÆAN LEAGUE—hereafter to act a conspicuous part in the concluding drama of Grecian history—was formed against him and his schemes. In B. C. 242 he died at the advanced age of eighty, and left his crown to his son Demetrius II., whose reign of ten years was not marked by any notable events. His ambitions—such as they were—were successfully resisted by the League, and his petty wars with the Ætolians, Illyrians, and Thracians had no important results. At his death the crown descended to his son Philip, then but three years of age, who was placed under the regency of his uncle, Antigonus Doson.

Meanwhile, in B. C. 222, Cleomenes, the young "king" of Sparta—for that unchangeable commonwealth still clung to its traditional names—not liking the growing ascendency of the League, made war on the confederated states, and the latter called on Antigonus Doson to aid them in resisting the Lacedæmonian aspirant. The two armies which were brought into the field by the respective parties met on the field of Sellasia, and Cleomenes was overthrown and driven into Egypt. That country, in the mean time, had passed from the hands of the great Philadelphus to his son Ptolemy Euergetes, from whom the Spartan refugee now sought protection and vindication.

For fourteen years Antigonus Doson remained as regent of Macedonia, and was then, at death, succeeded in authority by his ward PHILIP, who was destined in a short time to be embroiled with the Romans, and to become one of the actors in the complicated drama in which the new Republic of the West stretched out her scepter over all of the contending parties.

Soon after the accession of Philip to power the Achæan League made a rash invasion of Ætolia and were repulsed with great loss. The Ætolians pressed home their advantage, and the Achæans applied to Philip for aid. The monarch repaired into Greece, and undertook to settle all difficulties by conciliatory measures proposed in a general conference of the states. But the business resulted in nothing, and that conflict ensued known as the Second Social War. In this contest Philip took the side of the League, and for four years (B. C. 222–218) upheld the cause against the Ætolians and their allies. At the end of this time the Nemæan festival was celebrated, and while the festivities were on, the news came of Hannibal's great victory over the Romans on the field of Thrasimenus.

The effect of one violence was to counteract another. The Greek states were led to consider the tremendous political powers which had been developed in the West, and how they themselves were thereby imminently exposed to conquest. This reflection led to a settlement. Even the Ætolians were able to see that, unless all Greece should be united, she would in the near future fall an easy prey to one or other of the powers of the West.

Turning to the East, and resuming the history of the Greek kingdom of Syria we find on the throne as successor to Seleucus his son, Antiochus Soter—a title conferred on account of his victorious defense of the country against the Gauls. He came to the throne in B. C. 280, and had a disturbed reign of eighteen years. His first military operation was a campaign against Bithynia, which for some time had been in a state of insurrection. The expedition was intrusted by the king to his general, Patroclus; but the Bithynians soon compelled him to withdraw in disgrace. Nor was the campaign which was undertaken in B. C. 280 against the kingdom of Pergamus more successful. A few years later Antiochus was induced to engage in a broil which proved to be still more unfortunate to himself and kingdom. A certain Magas, who had been appointed by Ptolemy Philadelphus, as governor of Cyrene, raised the standard of revolt and induced Antiochus, who was his father-in-law, to espouse his cause. This injudicious action cost the king of Syria dearly. The powerful fleet of Ptolemy struck right and left at the Syrian dependencies, and while Magas gained nothing but defeat, his father-in-law was, in the course of a four years' war, mulcted of the fine provinces of Lycia, Pamphylia, Caria, and Cilicia.

Soon afterwards, in B. C. 262, the barbarous Gauls, who were now firmly established in Asia Minor, and had received vast accessions from their countrymen in Europe, made such havoc by their ravages that Antiochus resolved on their extermination. With a large army, he met and assaulted the barbarians before the walls of Ephesus. The conflict was one of the most bloody and desperate of the century; and such were the valor and determination of the Gauls that the Syrian army was entirely routed and Antiochus killed. The title of Soter, which he had borne for

ANTIOCHUS I.—Berlin.

eighteen years as a successful defender of his country against these identical marauders, was suddenly annulled by them, and converted into a theme of ridicule.

The late king of Syria was succeeded in B. C. 261 by his son, Antiochus Theos. This young prince, on hearing of his father's defeat at Ephesus, hastened thither with a new army to mend, if possible, the fortunes of the kingdom. But after a desultory war of several years' duration, he was obliged to retire before the invincible barbarians, and leave them in peaceable possession of their province. In a struggle, however, with a chieftain who had seized the governorship of Caria, Antiochus was crowned with success; and it was for this pitiful victory that the base fools who thronged his court conferred on him the title of *Theos* or the god.

About the same time the Syrian king became involved in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, from whom he gained, only to lose them again, the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia; but before the contest was ended, the attention of Antiochus was suddenly recalled by the alarming condition of affairs on the north-eastern frontiers of his own kingdom. In B. C. 254, both Bactria and Parthia, offended at the exactions and inhumanity of the royal governors, raised the standard of revolt and defied the power of the king. Theodotus, the Bactrian satrap, was for the time entirely successful. Agathocles, the Parthian governor, was attacked by two patriot brothers, Arsaces and Tiridates, and by them the adherents of Antiochus were obliged to take to flight. Startled at these outbreaks, the Syrian monarch was glad to enter into negotiations for peace with Ptolemy, between whom and himself terms were soon agreed upon, and the treaty confirmed by the marriage to Antiochus of the Egyptian Princess Berenice. By this act Laodice, whom the Syrian had previously married, and by whom he had two children, was discarded; but the queen soon sought revenge by poisoning Antiochus, and securing the succession to her son, Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus. It was in this year, B. C. 246, that Ptolemy Euergetes succeeded his father Philadelphus on the throne of Egypt.

The first work which the new prince of Alexandria felt constrained to undertake was to visit retributive justice upon those who had murdered his sister Berenice; for that princess had been hunted down by Laodice and put to death within the sacred precincts of the Daphnean temple. Seleucus thus stood as the representative of the crime which had been committed against the House of Ptolemy. The latter raised an army and began an invasion of his rival's dominions, and at the same time the Parthian insurrection continued on the eastern frontier of the Empire. The Egyptian soon overran Syria and continued his victorious career through Media and Babylonia even to the banks of the Indus. But his conquest was one rather of spoliation than political aggrandizement. He returned to the West with plunder amounting in value to forty thousand talents of silver. In addition to this vast booty he brought home to his countrymen the statues of more than two thousand Egyptian gods which had been carried away by Cambyses to Susiana and Persia.[1]

In the mean time the government of Seleucus was still further distracted by a rebellion in Syria, headed by his brother Antiochus Hierax, who induced the Gauls to join his standard. While these two were engaged in a struggle for the mastery, Euergetes, who might easily have reduced the whole country, withdrew into Egypt, apparently satisfied with the vengeance which he had taken on his enemy.

This afforded opportunity and motive to Seleucus and Hierax to come to an adjustment; but a permanent peace between them was impossible, and in B. C. 242, hostilities again broke out with greater violence than ever. A severe battle was fought at Ancyræ, in which Hierax was victorious, but the Gauls, who had won the battle, hearing that Seleucus was dead, turned on their own commander, by whose destruction they thought to obtain the mastery of Asia for themselves. Barely did Hierax escape from their clutches. Two years afterwards, with one hundred thousand Gauls, he renewed the contest, marched against Babylon,

[1] It was for this service that he was honored by the Egyptians with the surname of EUERGETES, the Doer of Good.

and was utterly routed by the army of Seleucus. The defeated insurgent fled to Egypt, put himself under the protection of Ptolemy, and by him was detained as a prisoner for thirteen years.

Meanwhile the Parthians, having strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Bactrians, held out against the Syrians. With them, after the overthrow of Hierax, Seleucus at once renewed the contest. In B. C. 239 a decisive battle was fought with the rebel barbarians, in which they gained a great victory over the Syrian army. Seleucus was taken prisoner and sent into the wilds of Upper Asia, where he was held a captive until his death, ten years later. As soon as his captivity was known at Babylon the authorities placed upon the throne his eldest son, Seleucus III., who took the title of Ceraunus, or Thunder—a name given in contempt by the soldiers; for he was a despicable weakling both in mind and body. He began his inglorious reign of three years by attempting to carry out the plans of his father. A conspiracy was presently made against him by Nicana, one of his generals, and a certain Gaul named Apaturius, and he was assassinated in the twentieth year of his age. The throne was immediately conferred on his brother Antiochus, surnamed the Great.

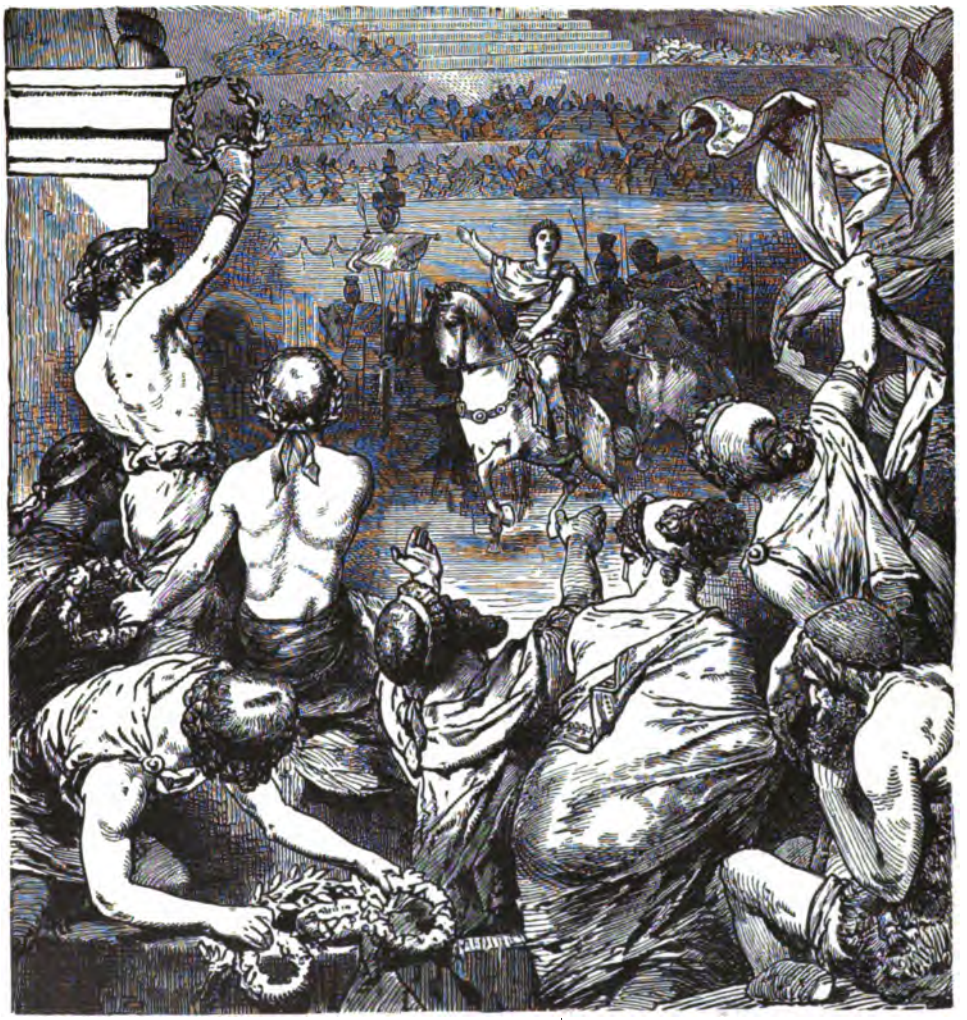
In the beginning of his reign the new monarch was greatly aided in his government by his cousin Achæus, one of the most distinguished soldiers of his times. Not so, however, was the king supported by the minister Hermeias, who proved treacherous, and sowed revolt in the provinces. Molon and Alexander, governors of Media and Persia, headed insurrections in their respective satrapies, and the royal generals who were sent against them were defeated. At length, in B. C. 222, Antiochus took the field in person, and the fortunes of the war were changed. When the armies were drawn up for battle the soldiers of the insurgent satraps deserted them and went over to the king. Molon and Alexander found refuge in suicide, and Hermeias was condemned to death, not, however, until he had produced a fatal breach between Achæus and the king.

Euergetes was at length succeeded on the throne of Egypt by Ptolemy Philopater—a prince whose character illy accorded with that of his illustrious predecessors. The kingdom was neglected to the extent of inviting foreign aggression. The ambitious Antiochus saw in the situation an opportunity to recover Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, nor was he slow in retaking these provinces from the Egyptians. The latter, foreseeing that the Syrian king would soon be knocking at their doors, fell back before him, and destroyed all the wells between Palestine and Egypt. Several able generals opposed the progress of Antiochus, and finally confronted him at Raphia with a powerful army. The two forces met in B. C. 218. Besides the immense array of infantry and cavalry on each side, nearly two hundred elephants were marshaled forth to influence the result of the battle. The contest was long and bloody. At the first, victory inclined to the banner of Antiochus; but the tide presently turned, and he was subjected to a disastrous rout. More than fourteen thousand of his dead were left on the field. So decisive was the result that Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria were at once recovered, and Antiochus was glad to conclude a peace on the basis of restitution.

While the attention of the king of Syria was occupied with these events, Achæus, justly offended at the course of his master in treating him as disloyal, secured for himself several provinces in Asia Minor, and prepared to defend them. Phrygia and Lydia were included in his dominions. With Prusias, king of Bithynia, Attalus, king of Pergamus, and Mithridates, king of Pontus, he had made successful alliances. Nevertheless he was unable to stand before the arms of Antiochus. Attalus, who had been compelled rather than persuaded to espouse the cause of Achæus, went over to the Syrian king. The insurgent general was driven into Sardis, and when the city was taken he shut himself up in the citadel. Ptolemy attempted through an emissary to secure the escape of Achæus, but the agent proved treacherous, and the general, being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, was wrapped in the skin of an ass and crucified.

Antiochus next vindicated his title of *Great* by doing what several of his predecessors had ingloriously failed to accomplish—subdue the Parthians and Bactrians. In a campaign of B. C. 214 he overran both of the revolted provinces, gained decisive victories, and reduced to obedience the rebellious inhabitants, who for thirty years had defied the authority of the Syrian kings. Having achieved these brilliant successes, Antiochus continued his campaign to the banks of the Indus, and returned to his capital with a great augmentation of wealth and honor.

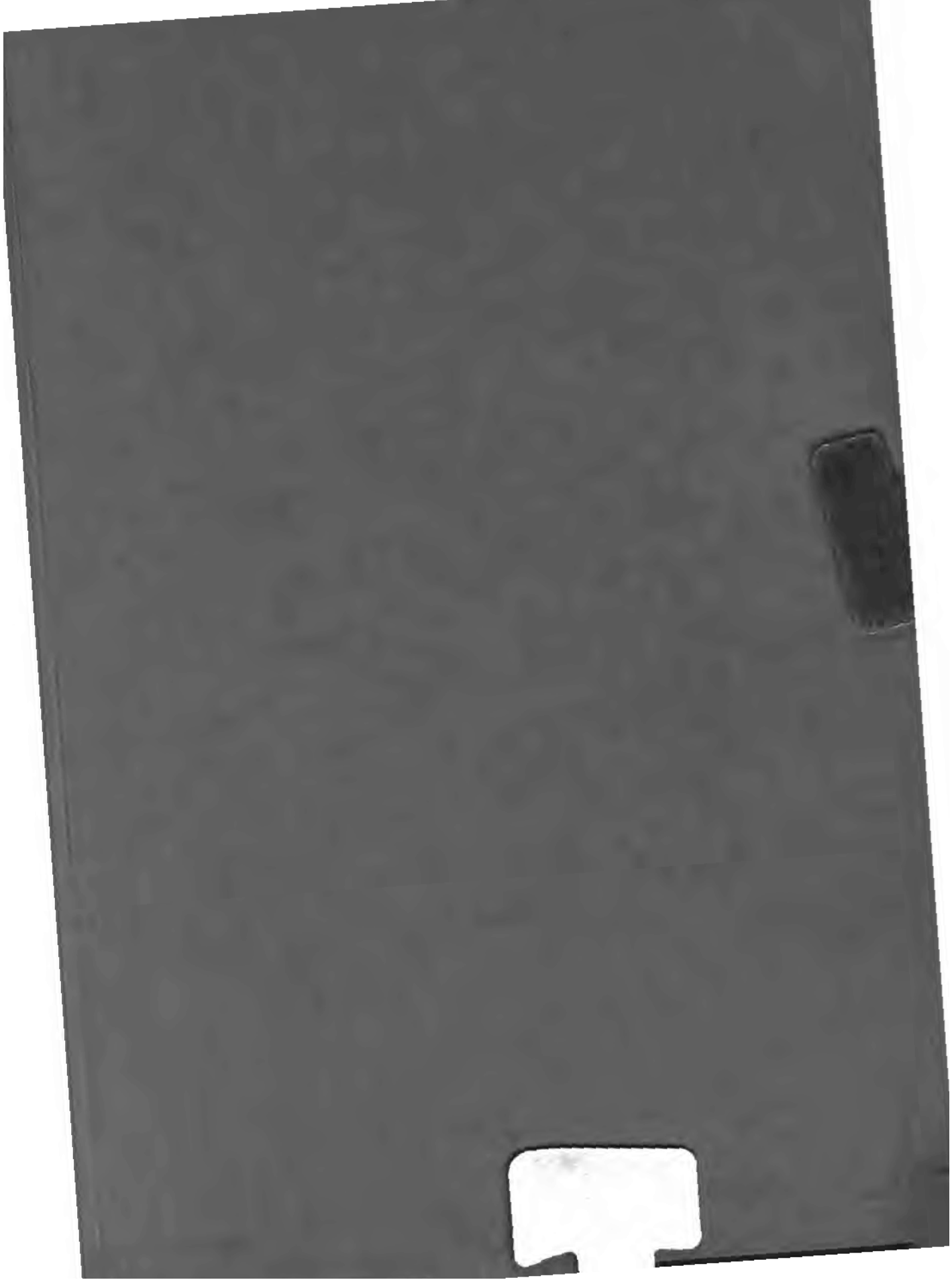
So great were the vices of Ptolemy Philopater that Egypt was not permitted to reap any important benefits from the victory at Rhaphia. His conduct precipitated an epoch of civil discord, and it was a good riddance when his vicious indulgences brought his life to a close. He was succeeded by his son, surnamed Epiphanes, who was a mere child at his father's death. This circumstance suggested to Philip of Macedon the feasibility of an Egyptian invasion. Accordingly, in B. C. 202, he set out through Asia Minor, and captured most of the cities therein belonging to the House of Ptolemy. Several of the Ægean islands fell into his power, and still further successes were promised to his arms; but the Rhodians, alarmed at these aggressions, assisted



TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS PROCLAIMING "LIBERTY" TO THE GREEKS.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

by Attalus, king of Pergamus, sent out a fleet against Philip, and the Romans, also interfering, compelled him to return to his own dominions.

For a year or two, however, he continued to press the war in Asia Minor, and, among other successes, gained a decisive victory over the Ætolian general Scopas, in a battle at the foot of Mount Panius. His justification for all these proceedings was that as the heir of Seleucus Nicator he was the rightful ruler of all the countries of the Lesser Asia. In B. C. 197, he besieged the fortresses of Mysia and Caria, and presently afterwards invested Smyrna and Lampsacus. He then overran Thrace, and began to rebuild the ruined city of Lysimachia. All these measures indicated that the Macedonian ruler was about to lay a strong hand on the greater part of the Alexandrine Empire in the West. But a stronger Hand now reached out of the shadows. The outlines of the fingers of Rome were seen on the wall of destiny.

In B. C. 196 the Isthmian games were in progress at Corinth. The states were assembled to witness the time-honored celebration. Suddenly the Roman proconsul, Titus Quinctius Flaminius, appeared in the midst and announced that the great Republic of the West assumed thenceforth the protectorate of the commonwealths of Greece. He, as arbiter, would hear the embassadors of the several states at war, and settle without prejudice all the points in controversy! The announcement was equivalent to saying that the empire of the world had been suddenly transferred from the banks of the Euphrates to the banks of the Tiber, from Babylon to Rome!

We have now pursued the course of events from the death of Alexander the Great through the turmoil of revolution and bloodshed down to the time when the fragments of the colossal empire established by the son of Philip began to be absorbed by the Roman Republic. The period occupied by the contentions of the successors of Alexander B. C. 326–196 is one of the darkest and most difficult passages in history. These times were the Middle Ages of Antiquity. They stood chaotic between the unity of Persia and Macedonia on the one hand, and the greater unity of Rome on the other. Not without a certain sense of relief may the reader turn from the heterogeneous jumble of events presented by the annals of the Græco-Syrian, Græco-Egyptian, and Macedonian kingdoms to the unique and singular grandeur of Rome. To that great power of the West our attention will now be directed.